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EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA BEFORE 1811

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University
of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY
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PREFACE

Fundamental changes in the educational policy of Nova Scotia have occurred since pioneer days of settlement. A well-ordered body of school law now provides for the province a system of public schools commensurate with modern needs. Few characteristics of its origin remain. Professional vision has democratized public education and injected new purposes into the work of our schools.

The passage from the old order to the new was effected only by a gradual process. For many years ideals in educational theory and practice that had served to mould and direct educational effort in colonial days continued to exert a potent influence on the trend of subsequent school development in the province. It is by an insight into their nature that a clue can best be discovered both for a proper grasp of later educational problems and for an understanding of the educational situation in Nova Scotia as we have it today.

Coming within the compass of the period reviewed by this study are such controverted points in historical accuracy as date of establishment of our earliest schools, their founders, administration and first teachers; and such basic considerations as character of the early Acadian education, origin and administration of the Nova Scotia school lands, sectarian motives governing our original school policy, and the growth of an awakening consciousness for the need of higher education. These topics are of profound import both from an historical and institutional viewpoint.

After diligent examination of records, printed and in manuscript, the writer feels justified in claiming that he has something original to contribute to our knowledge of the beginnings in education in Nova Scotia. He is aware of the existence of but one formal work on the subject—the recent volume, "Public Education in Nova Scotia," by James Bingay, M.A., Supervisor of Schools, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia.* This work covers the history of educational development in the province generally from the beginning to the present time.

**Kingston*, 1919.

Something additional is contributed by the present treatise to what Mr. Bingay has to say of our educational institutions in their incipency.

It has been brought to the author's notice that Dr. Brunt, of MacDonald College, Montreal, has conducted research similar to that pursued by Mr. Bingay. This study, however, has not been published.

Apart from the work above named, the desultory allusions to educational matters of the province found in political histories present invariably a rather imperfect and disconnected view of the state of education in Nova Scotia in pioneer days. The writer has found that for trustworthy evidence primary source material needs to be consulted.

In bringing this work to completion the writer takes the opportunity to thank those who by helpful suggestion, courteous service and indulgent patience encouraged him in his task. He expresses his gratitude to the staffs of the several libraries in Washington who rendered courteous assistance in locating material pertinent to the study. To Dr. Walcott of the United States Bureau of Education he feels particularly indebted for allowing him free access to the valuable collections of that Bureau. To Mr. Piers, Custodian of the Public Records of Nova Scotia, and Miss Donohue, Librarian at the Provincial Building, Halifax, he is indebted for placing at his disposal precious manuscripts and rare volumes entrusted to their keeping. He particularly acknowledges his indebtedness to the several professors of the Department of Education of the Catholic University of America, and recognizes in an especial manner the assistance rendered by Reverend Dr. P. J. McCormick, Professor of History of Education at the same institution, who directed the course of the work and on numerous occasions offered helpful criticism.

INTRODUCTION

In Nova Scotia, at the present time, there is, in connection with readjustments being made in our school program and the attendant study of expanding school functions, a heightened interest shown in the scientific examination and investigation of fundamental principles upon which our school system is based. This interest carries investigators back to a time prior to the establishment of state schools and into topics that demand patient and attentive study.

Due to the paucity of published treatises on the subject, research of this nature imposes many tedious difficulties; it necessitates the consultation of an unclassified mass of original historical material amongst which the educational data are not abundant; for during those years that the educational activity of the province remained, more or less, a matter of private enterprise there was no necessity for keeping record of its conduct. Schools then were instituted, supported and disciplined by itinerant teachers or by several industrious persons of an isolated community who coordinated their efforts to erect a school and hire and support a teacher, sometimes at their own expense. The only requisite for establishment was official permission, and frequently even this requirement was ignored. Sometimes, however, those semiprivate institutions made application for governmental assistance, and in this way we are made aware of their existence.

Likewise, of the manuscript material available for examination, about all of it comes under the broad class of "historical archives." Of the Public Records of Nova Scotia, no assortment or index has been made of the educational data they contain. For this reason their examination entails the handling of a mass of documents productive eventually of a small amount of information in proportion to the labor spent.

For the most part, however, this inquiry represents conclusions arrived at after a due examination of primary source material. Part of the documents consulted are originals, and part facsimile transcripts from the London and Paris archives. The evidence of the latter group may be accepted as being of equal authority with the originals. Testimony of a second-hand character was resorted to only when it revealed

information not available from primary sources, and effort was always made in such cases to corroborate its validity by comparison of statement with probabilities in the case and an honest effort to appreciate the reliability of the author.

The writer's sources of information for the study were varied. Some time ago he pursued research on the early French and English wars in Acadia in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, Canada. Among the sources that came under his observation there were political histories of Nova Scotia and Canada, diaries, archival reports and numerous transcripts from the Colonial Archives, London. Latterly he pursued the study here presented in the depositories of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and in the United States Bureau of Education in that city. Here he had the opportunity to examine again histories, educational treatises, laws, statutes, and journals of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. The most illuminating information, however, resulted from an intensive study of the Public Records of Nova Scotia in the Public Records Office, Halifax, and rare volumes and files of old newspapers in the Legislative Library at the same place. For the period under consideration the Records number approximately 175 volumes averaging 500 leaves each, foolscap size. They comprise books of Governors of Nova Scotia, minutes of the Executive Council and much miscellaneous correspondence belonging to the period now under investigation.

On account of the peculiar interrelationship that marks the progress of early church, political and social institutions in Nova Scotia, the writer frequently obtained suggestive and helpful information by referring to documents relating to ecclesiastical activities in the province during that period. Matter of this nature consisted of communications that passed between ecclesiastical authorities, found in considerable number among the Public Records of the province, church and church societies' reports and sketches on church work.

Accessibility to a comparatively full account of the endeavors of the Established Church of England in Nova Scotia leaves no doubt as to the part played by that body in shaping the social and educational life of the province in the era of

colonization. The praiseworthy and blameworthy aspects of the educational policy it pursued can be established on the evidence of written record. With the French missionaries of the Catholic Church the case is different, there being good reason to believe that there has never been any fair estimate or appreciation taken of the educational value of their influence among the French settlers in Acadia.

It seems evident that during the term of French occupation the labors of Catholic religious communities in the province transcended in importance what was achieved under government initiative. The French clergy instituted the social fabric of the Acadians; and if we ignore this important phase of their work we have nothing to recount for that period but tales of incessant wars. Since it was usual with them not to esteem it part of their mission to keep detailed record of their labors, it is surmised, in the absence of written proof, that the influence they wielded educationally was negligible. There is some evidence, however, to warrant the belief that the priest did concern himself with the educational welfare of those entrusted to his care. As he was representative of a highly respected authority and the most cultured figure among his people, it was but natural that he should exert a dominating, cohesive and educational force in his community.

In Chapter I, the French Period, an attempt is therefore made to establish an appreciation of the nature of the informal and the formal education conducted by religious orders in Nova Scotia during the French regime. Through the discovery in Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1904, of a transcribed letter of Brother Ignace of date 1656, the author has been able to ratify by information elicited from an authoritative source the truth of the supposed existence of an early Capuchin school at Port Royal and to state facts concerning it hitherto not generally known. In dealing with this topic, also, suggestions generously made by Reverend John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., St. Augustine Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., proved to be of much assistance in dispersing obscurities concerning the situation of this school and the date of its foundation. Likewise, after an examination of ecclesiastical communications of the period he has been able to add to our

knowledge of the school operated in French times by the Notre Dame Sisters at Louisbourg.

Chapter II, Early British Period, 1713-1766, covers the British Colonial period from its beginning to the enactment of the first school law passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature. By a study of the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts some new items relating to the first schools it instituted in the province have been obtained.

Chapter III, A Period of Settlement and Educational Organization, reviews the general state of education in Nova Scotia before the year 1780. It deals with the question of the school lands, considers the school law of 1766 and notes the organization of schools in various parts of the province.

Chapter IV, A Period of Educational Expansion, considers the educational situation in Nova Scotia during the closing years of the eighteenth century, indicating the developments favorable to collegiate and secondary education and the steady progress toward the establishment of state schools. Observations are also made in this chapter on the state of Catholic, Indian and Negro education and the influence of the Loyalists on the founding of schools in the province generally.

A separate chapter, V, takes notice of educational activities in Cape Breton before 1811. That island, though separated politically from the mainland from 1784 to 1820, was socially always intimately associated with it. For all practical purposes, therefore, its schools may be regarded as having developed conjointly with those of the peninsula.

Throughout this study the chronological order of presentation has been adhered to in so far as facts permit. In the interest of clearness and easy transition, deviations from this strict order of procedure occur from time to time.

In his treatment and arrangement of material the writer has been guided throughout by personal experience as a pupil in the elementary and collegiate schools of Nova Scotia. Acquaintance also with persons prominent in the educational life of the province has helped him to acquire a more intimate knowledge of the subject discussed and has assisted him in many ways in the preparation of the work.

EXPLANATORY

Nova Scotia proper is a peninsula on the Atlantic shore of Canada extending northeast and southwest from the Straits of Canso to the Bay of Fundy and joined to the mainland of Canada by the Isthmus of Chignecto. The Province of Nova Scotia comprises this peninsula and the adjacent island of Cape Breton.

Nova Scotia formed part of Acadia or Acadie—a name applied by the French to the great stretch of land that lay between their settlements on the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence River and the Gaspan peninsula eastward to the Atlantic Ocean; and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to approximately the Penobscot River in the State of Maine. Its boundaries were never definitely determined by either the French or the English.

In 1621, Acadia was taken formal possession of by Great Britain, the reigning sovereign, James I, conferring it as a baronetcy on the Scottish knight, Sir William Alexander. For many years right to the territory was in dispute, but finally by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France relinquished her claim to Nova Scotia, reserving, of her original possessions on the Atlantic shore of New France, Cape Breton Island and Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island).

The King of England administered the government of the newly acquired territory through a representative stationed at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, until 1749, when the seat of government was transferred to the new settlement founded at Halifax in that year. In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, France renounced in favor of Britain all that remained of her former possessions in New France; and Cape Breton Island and Isle St. Jean came under the direct supervision of the government at Halifax.

The southern extremity of ancient Acadia having been absorbed in the State of Maine, that remaining part of it west of Chignecto was constituted, in 1784, into a separate province

called New Brunswick. Cape Breton, erected into a separate province the same year, was, in 1820, reestablished as a political adjunct of Nova Scotia, the two henceforth forming one governmental unit with the seat of administration at Halifax. Isle St. Jean was granted excision from greater Nova Scotia in 1768 and its name changed to Prince Edward Island.

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH PERIOD

The standard-bearers of pioneer educational effort in Nova Scotia were missionaries of the Catholic Church. Both in informal and institutional methods of teaching they led the way. Primarily they were intent on the conversion of the savages and the maintenance of religious discipline and observance among the French Acadian peasantry. But they were not unmindful of the admonition of the Church, that her jewels are not to be cast before swine. With unyielding perseverance they labored unremittingly to sow and bring to fructification the seeds of a liberal Christian discipline, and the success they achieved entitles them to recognition as the original teachers of Nova Scotia.

The instruction given by the missionaries was first of all religious, and hence moral. It did not concern itself with the mechanics of teaching, but it demanded practice and hence expression. Of the Acadian it made an individual of remarkable moral character, and it subdued the Indian by teaching him how to curb his savage instincts. These beneficial results were attained by a method of general religious discipline and teaching. For this reason it is difficult to appreciate at this date the true educational character of the work done by the French priests in Acadia. Evidence of it, however, is still to be seen in the rectitude of life characteristic of the Acadian and in the submissive docility of the Indian.

It is usually said that the French pioneers in Acadia were an extremely ignorant class of people, that they had no conception of the higher branches of learning, and that their knowledge of even the elements of education was very deficient. It is admitted, however, that in the daily conduct of their lives they observed a moral code and practiced a reciprocal relationship most edifying to a Christian community. In the light of modern educational conceptions these two statements do not perfectly harmonize. Such exemplary conduct must necessarily rest on a foundation of education and breeding. No doubt the Acadians, when we compare their

scholastic attainments with those obtaining in our day, were deficient in the mastery of the mechanics of education. But this does not necessarily imply that they were void of all cultural qualities. The moral courage that they manifested in their way of living betokened the enjoyment of an educational discipline and the functioning of ethical principles taught them as necessary corollaries to the religion they professed.

The unqualified assertion sometimes made, that the Acadians were obstinate because they were ignorant, is erroneous. More proper would it be to attribute their attitude to loyalty to their institutions, particularly the Church. As records abundantly show, the object of the conquerors was, in the first instance, to proselytize. This motive the Acadians resented, for they loved and respected their Church and her missionaries. The welfare of their priests they held above all other considerations. In the report of the interview between Governor Cornwallis and the Acadian delegates in 1749 this solicitude is well shown.¹ Their first concern on that occasion was the fate of their priests. Experience had taught the Acadians that the motives which drew the missionaries to Acadia were inspired neither by greed of gain nor hope of political preferment; and they rejoiced that amid the bewildering dictates of a shifting authority they could at least repose trust in their clergy.

Among the Indians, no less than among the French, the priest was held in high esteem. With the converted tribes his authority ranked with, if it did not exceed, that of the chief. The Micmacs, who eventually were all converted to Catholicism, regarded him as the benefactor of their tribe and to this day cherish in affectionate remembrance the traditions regarding the apostolic pioneers of the faith who were the means of their conversion.² The Micmac Indians are a resentful and sensitive people. The fact that they have so long retained such a marvelous devotion for the priest is significant of the tender care they formerly received at his hands.

To effect such a remarkable transformation in a savage people the missionaries must have taught religious doctrine pru-

¹ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 209, p. 9.

² See *The Missionary*, Apostolic Mission House, Washington, D. C., Feb., 1921, p. 41 *et seq.*

dently and effectively. The result achieved vindicates also the virtue of religion as an educating medium and compels us to consider this fact when we attempt to form an adequate conception of the educational attainments of the Acadians. Information of this nature is not to be found inscribed in official communiques of the time, for the subject is one that by nature is not reducible to written fact. Though it may be admitted that the Acadians were, on the whole, *illiterate* it may, on the other hand, be urged that aptitude to manipulate the mechanics of scholastic learning is not a necessary concomitant of *education*. Formation of nobility of character is the true office of an effective education.

Turning to written records, we find them not entirely barren of evidence conducive to the belief that the clergy continued to exercise pedagogical functions among the Acadian French when adversity had removed from them all other means of instruction. When years after the conquest the Acadians were, on several occasions, called upon to subscribe to various forms of oaths and papers submitted by the English for endorsement, approximately 60 per cent were capable of signing their own names. Since those signatories had never gone beyond the confines of Acadia they must necessarily have acquired this accomplishment within the shadow of their own homes and presumably through the good offices of their own priests.³ It is an indication also that the Acadians were not wholly unacquainted with the rudiments of a school education, and it is a tradition still preserved among them that their original ancestors in Nova Scotia numbered among themselves men who were well schooled.

The first permanent settlement of the French in Nova Scotia was made at Port Royal, now Annapolis, in 1605. From this point as a center they gradually extended themselves over the fertile lands adjoining. Progress, however, was slow, and for a long time their advance was uncertain and haphazard. In fact, France, after more than a century of occupation, left Acadia to the English in 1713 almost as she had found it. What are now the centers of population in

³ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 6.

the province were still resplendent in primeval loveliness. The cause is apparent.

France was in continual difficulties in Europe. England was her greatest rival, and this gave rise to incessant petty warfare between their colonists in North America. Left to themselves the Acadians were too beset with difficulties to look to more than the satisfaction of their physical needs. Their physical surroundings in a country as yet untouched by the hand of man made unusual demands on them. It required their most vigorous exertions to provide food and shelter for themselves and their dependents. Most distressing of all, they were subjected to the tyranny of a villainous band of administrators who, sheltered by the security which distance and isolation afforded, practiced high-handed rapacity with impunity. Moreover, the attacks of the unconverted savages had to be guarded against, while the depredations of New England privateers were no less annoying. The cumulative effect of these several circumstances was to render the French settlements in Acadia inconstant and shiftless and expansion precarious.

The population of Acadia is computed to have been 400 in 1671.⁴ M. de Meulles, Intendant of New France in 1686, has left us a census of Acadia for that year. The figures are based on observations made in the course of a personal visit and may therefore be accepted as reliable. His estimate of the number of French people in Acadia is 885, distributed over the territory as follows: Port Royal, 592; Cape Sable, 15; Port La Hève and Merlignuaiche, 19; Baie de Mines, 57; Riviere St. Jean, Pesmouquody, Megays and Pentagouet, 16; Beaubassin, 127; Riviere Miramichy, Chedaboutou de Nepisiquy and de l'Isle Percee, 59. A few more settlements were made before the end of that century. In 1710, Governor Vetch reported to the British Government the number of people in Port Royal, including those within cannon shot of the fort, to be 500.⁵

In 1714, he estimated the whole French population of Nova

⁴ Brown, *Georgs S., Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*. Rand Avery Company, Printers, Boston, 1888, p. 122.

⁵ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vols. 2, 5.

Scotia at 2,500; and the Recollet missionary, Felix Pain, states that on the same date there were 583 people at Port Royal and 1,103 at Minas.⁶ These figures do not take into account the number of people settled on Cape Breton Island. In Vetch's report, referred to above, belief is expressed that there were then as many people in Cape Breton as on the whole peninsula of Nova Scotia. But the estimate of another authority, 720, is probably more correct.⁷

The Capuchin Schools at La Hève and Port Royal.—From 1615 to 1629 the Recollets controlled the missions in Acadia. They left on the latter date, when Port Royal fell into the hands of the English. On restoration of the country to France by the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632, Cardinal Richelieu, as chief of the Compagnie des Cent Associés, called upon the Capuchins, another branch of the Franciscan Order, to reclaim the field lately relinquished by their brethren in New France. The whole of Acadia was transferred to their charge and six members of the order from the province of Paris prepared to accompany the newly appointed governor, Isaac de Razilly, to Acadia.⁸ To them belongs the distinction of having established the first school known to exist in Nova Scotia.

Sailing from France in midsummer, 1632, Razilly arrived at La Hève on the eastern shore of Nova Scotia early in August. No time was lost by the Capuchins. They began to lay the foundation of their mission immediately and before the end of the year were "inhabiting two houses or hospices, one at Port Royal and one at La Hève (Portus Mariae)."⁹ "As soon as circumstances permitted," writes their historian, "the Capuchins established their first Indian School at La Hève and called it, according to the custom of the times, a *Seminary*. The exact date of the foundation is not known.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3.

⁷ *Canada and Its Provinces*, Shortt & Doughty, 25 Vols., Toronto, 1913, Vol. 1, p. 209.

⁸ Lenhart, Reverend John, O. M. Cap., *The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine. Records of the American Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. 27, No. 3, September, 1916, p. 201.

⁹ Relation of the work of the Capuchins in Acadia submitted to Propaganda, July 19, 1632: extant in *Archivio di Prop. Fide*, Atti Vol. 8, No. 6, f. 269. Quoted by Lenhart, *op. cit.*, p. 208; by Cesnalle, III, p. 677, note 4.

The Rev. D. McPherson makes it contemporary with the Jesuit Huron college at Quebec. 'About 1635,' he writes, 'the Capuchins opened their college at Port Royal.' Father Can-
dide favors a somewhat later date. 'It seems to me,' he says, 'that the construction of the *Seminary* at Port Royal must be placed after Razilly's death (1635). It was certainly started before 1635, and, consequently, preceded the Quebec seminary, the fruit of the same thought, of the same devotedness, and of the same apostolic spirit.' Very probably it was begun about 1633 in La Hève, and in 1636 transferred to Port Royal."¹⁰

Rather convincing evidence in support of the latter view is deducible from a knowledge of the conversion policy advocated by Cardinal Richelieu at this time as revealed in the instructions he and Père Joseph, Prefect-Apostolic of all the French Capuchin missions, had given the Acadian missionaries on the eve of their departure from France. Richelieu believed that progress in conversion of the Indians would be facilitated by beginning with the education of their children in boarding schools.¹¹ Later on, these children having acquired a certain mastery of elementary learning and Christian doctrine, could be returned to their parents and advantage taken of their influence in inducing the natives generally to embrace Christianity. Father Pacifique points out that "Cardinal Richelieu had given explicit orders (to the Capuchins in Acadia) to civilize the Indians by giving them a regular course of instruction," and expresses the opinion that "for this reason the Fathers could not delay the establishment of a 'Seminary' both for training and civilizing Indians alongside French children for such a long time."¹²

The small amount of data extant precludes possibility of obtaining extensive information concerning the operation of the school at La Hève during Razilly's administration. The initial success attending the efforts of the Capuchins during

¹⁰ Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 223-224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹² Private correspondence of the writer with Rev. John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., St. Augustine Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., of date Nov. 7, 1921. Information on this point also obtained through correspondence with Rev. Father Pacifique, O. M. Cap., Restigouche, Bonaventure Co., P. Q.

this time, however, is attested to by a memoir submitted to Cardinal Richelieu by Governor Razilly on July 15, 1634. In this document he states:

Lesquels (the Capuchins) par leurs exemples . . . nous ont si bien conduits que par la grâce de Dieu le vice ne règne point en cette habitation; et depuis que j'y suis, je n'ai pas trouvé lieu de châtement: la charité et l'amitié y sont sans contrainte.¹³

As to the Indians, he says:

Ils se soumettoient de leur franche volonté à toutes les lois qu'on vouloit leur imposer, soit divines soit humaines, reconnoissant Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne pour le roi.¹⁴

Razilly died in 1635, leaving the administration of affairs in Acadia to his associate, D'Aunay de Charnisay. From La Hève, D'Aunay moved his headquarters, in the same year, to Port Royal which thereafter became also the center of Capuchin activities. As we have noted, in 1636 they transferred the *Seminary* to the same locality. Available information concerning its subsequent progress is more abundant than for the preceding period of its history. It indicates that its activities were those appertaining to a real school in which the common branches of learning were taught. Historically, Father Lenhart concedes to it the position of first high school within the confines of New France.¹⁵ It enjoys the additional distinction of being contemporaneous with the earliest schools of New England.

D'Aunay seems to have been a more capable governor than his predecessor. He administered affairs in Acadia with firmness while extending a providential and paternal hand to the struggling Capuchin foundations. For the support of the missions in New France, Cardinal Richelieu, in 1635, contributed 17,000 livres of personal funds; yet had it not been for the gallant efforts of D'Aunay the Seminary at Port Royal would have been obliged to close for lack of means.¹⁶ At Port Royal, the Governor reserved for its maintenance a con-

¹³Quoted by Moreau, M. [Celestin], *Histoire de l'Acadie Francaise*, Paris, 1873, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁵Lenhart, *Rev. John, op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 224.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 207, 224.

siderable extent of ground which the Fathers of the mission were permitted to cultivate for their own use. Dwelling on this point Rameau says: ". . . aussi consacra-t-il (D'Aunay) une somme importante à leur accroissement, car il considérait l'établissement des missions comme une des nécessités premières de toute formation sociale."¹⁷

Concerning the establishment of the Seminary and the relationship that existed between it and D'Aunay, Rameau proceeds to say:

On avait donc construit par ses ordres, à Port-Royal, une sorte de monastère que l'on appelait dans le pays *le Séminaire*, dans lequel il avait installé douze Récollets, et il y avait annexé une étendue de terre assez considérable, qui pût subvenir ultérieurement aux besoins de ces religieux; ceux-ci d'autre part s'étaient obligés, non-seulement à desservir la colonie française et à faire des missions parmi les peuplades indigènes, mais encore à recevoir, entretenir et instruire dans leur maison trente jeunes gens et enfants micmacs ou abénékis afin de propager plus aisément dans la contrée la connaissance de la religion et les premiers éléments de la civilisation; c'est pourquoi cet établissement est appelé le Séminaire dans les documents du temps.¹⁸

Rameau here confuses the Recollets with the Capuchins. That it was the Capuchins and not the Recollets who conducted the school at Port Royal, has been demonstrated by Moreau and is substantiated, also, by the writings of D'Aunay. "D'Aunay informs us in his *Memoir* that in 1643 the Capuchins were instructing thirty baptized Indian children in their *seminaries*. These were Micmacs and Abenakis (Algonquins). Besides these thirty inmates," he says, "the Capuchins were instructing a number of externs, both French and Indians."¹⁹ The validity of this opinion is usually accepted by historians writing on Acadia. At that date, however, a few Recollets were to be found in the country.

D'Aunay's memoir referred to above shows that the Capuchin Seminary was meeting the terms of the contract made

¹⁷Rameau, M. [St. Edme], *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique*, Paris, 1877, p. 88.

¹⁸Rameau, M. [St. Edme], *op. cit.*, p. 89; Gosselin, L'Abbé A., *La Mission Du Canada avant Mgr. De Laval*, Evreux, 1909, pp. 108-109.

¹⁹Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 224.

with the Governor and Richelieu. The original six teachers and missionaries had by 1643 increased to twelve.²⁰ The day scholars or externs were both French and Indian children, usually from the settlement and vicinity; the interns, called in the documents of the time, *pensionnaires*, were from more distant places. On Sunday, the teachers and pupils were accustomed to congregate in the Governor's manor house, whence all proceeded to church. Rameau, borrowing from the *Relation* of Ignace of Paris of date 1653, describes thus the procession on those occasions:

Le seigneur arrivait de son côté, sortant du manoir avec sa femme ainsi ses nombreux enfants, dont l'aîné, Joseph, avait déjà 14 ans en 1650 (the year of D'Aunay's death), et les capucins, qui au nombre de douze tenaient le séminaire des sauvages, formaient cortège. Avec leurs trente *pensionnaires* et avec les enfants du pays qu'ils tenaient en école, ils arrivaient en rang prendre place à l'église.²¹

Although the school was of rude proportion and design, the instruction it imparted was not of an inferior sort. In 1645, an Indian student from the Seminary was taken to France. His appearance pleased royalty exceedingly, the Queen herself finding him sufficiently learned to confer on him a commission to return to Acadia and assist in the conversion of his people.²² Two years later, in granting the *Lettres Patentes* to D'Aunay, King Louis makes mention of the dutiful service rendered by his representative in Acadia, commending him on the fact that he had borne the entire expense of the establishment, supporting even the seminaries for teaching the Indians.²³

The unusual solicitude shown by the Governor for the perpetuation of the seminary schools at Port Royal naturally provokes the question whether he had any concealed interest in their success. Up to 1643 he had expended upwards of 400,000 livres in the administration of Acadia, no small part of which had been devoted to the schools and missions.²⁴ It

²⁰ Moreau, M. [Celestin], *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²¹ Rameau, M. [St. Edme], *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²² Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 225.

²³ Moreau, M. [Celestin], *op. cit.*, p. 243.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

has been shown, however, that apart from the religious zeal that actuated both the teachers of the seminaries and D'Aunay, their interests were otherwise mutually distinct. Perhaps D'Aunay, who from all accounts was a man endowed with strong judgment and possessed of a deep sense of duty, esteemed the worth of the educational facilities afforded his children by the Capuchin institutions. To provide for their maintenance he regarded probably as part of his obligations. Our authority, Rameau, expresses this thought when he says: "D'Aunay (bon juge en ces matières) avait su apprécier leurs services, efficaces et modestes."²⁵

D'Aunay had eight children—four boys and four girls.²⁶ The boys received their instruction in the Indian school for boys, while the girls enjoyed similar privileges in the Abenaki seminary for girls.

When the girls' school was opened, the records of the time do not divulge. The Capuchin reports on the missions in Acadia in 1641 apprise us of the appointment in that year of Madame de Brice D'Auxerre, directress of the school.²⁷ Inferentially they give evidence conducive to the belief that the institution had already been in existence for some time. The directress seems to have been a person of considerable importance in the Port Royal mission. In the documents of the period she is described as a person "distinguished for her piety, zeal and wisdom."²⁸ She had two sons, Leonard and Paschal de Brice D'Auxerre, both of whom joined the Capuchin Order and subsequently engaged in mission work with their brethren in Acadia.²⁹ She was the guardian of D'Aunay's daughters during the troublous years that marked the close of his administration, and after his death in 1650 became their protectress.

From what can be ascertained of the school, it is known that, like the boys' seminary, it contained both intern and

²⁵Rameau, M. [St. Edme], *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁶Moreau, M. [Celestin], *op. cit.*, p. 247. Ignace of Paris in his Relation of 1656 says D'Aunay had "three daughters and as many boys."

²⁷Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 227.

²⁸Letter of Ignace of Paris, Archives of Propaganda, Rome, dated 1656; reprinted in Reports on the Canadian Archives, Ottawa, 1904, p. 337 *et seq.*

²⁹Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March, 1917, pp. 53, 57.

extern pupils. Existing documents do not reveal their number, but they show that the practice prevailing in the boys school of placing French and Indian children on the same benches was observed here also.⁸⁰ Under Madame de Brice's supervision the girls' seminary endured twelve years. It disappears amid the devastation that overtook Port Royal in 1652.

After the death of D'Aunay in 1650 the missions suffered severely from dissension occasioned by the conflict of rival claimants for control in Acadia. In 1652, a French trader named Le Borgne, to whom D'Aunay had fallen under financial obligation, seized Port Royal.⁸¹ Sixteen members of the Capuchin Order—ten fathers and six lay-brothers—were at that time laboring in New France.⁸² Two of them, the Venerable Father Cosma De Mentés and Father Gabriel De Joinville, he expelled along with Madame de Brice, detaining them on his ships for five whole months.⁸³

This unfortunate occurrence, however, failed to crush the enterprising spirit of the missionaries. They returned soon afterwards and re-established the boys' school at Port Royal. When the settlement was seized by the English colonial forces in 1654, the Abenaki seminary was being conducted by Reverend Father Leonard, of Chartres, assisted by Father Yvo, of Paris, and by two lay-brothers, also of the Capuchin Order—Brother John of Troyes and Brother Francis Mary of Paris.⁸⁴ The invaders burned their church and with it likely the humble school.⁸⁵ In the records it is stated that after the capitulation, signed by the Superior himself in the interest of the mission, the English violated its provisions, putting Father Leonard to death and banishing his assistants. The latter were compelled to seek refuge in France.⁸⁶ Two years after-

⁸⁰ Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, September, 1916, p. 227.

⁸¹ Ignace, Brother, *op. cit.* Lenhart, relying on the authority of the original text, places the date of this event at 1653: see *Records of the American Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. 27, No 3, September, 1916, p. 228.

⁸² Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March, 1917, p. 48.

⁸³ Ignace, Brother, *op. cit.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. 13, p. 41.

⁸⁶ Ignace, Brother, *op. cit.*; Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March, 1917, p. 57.

wards, according to the *Relation* of Brother Ignace, there were no representatives of the Capuchins in Acadia. An appeal was made for their return, but the continued presence of the English on the Acadian coast and their decisive capture of Port Royal in 1690 put an end, eventually, to whatever evanescent hopes the Capuchins entertained of resuming their collegiate work at Port Royal.⁸⁷

Throughout twenty or more years of existence, from 1633 to 1654, the Capuchin *seminaries* in Acadia performed the double service of providing educational facilities for the French and native children and keeping alive the spark of learning in the remote colony. Considering the distracted state of the country in which their lot was cast and the many difficulties they had to encounter, it is not surprising that the success they achieved was not commensurate with the most sanguine expectations of Cardinal Richelieu. He, we believe, expected too much in a short time. To educate the Indian was neither an easy nor a pleasant task; yet in the system they devised and the methods they adopted in their *seminaries* at Port Royal the Capuchins were the first in New France to demonstrate how this work could best be pursued.

In their arduous task, the Capuchin Fathers found valuable assistants in the lay-brethren of the order. Some of the latter, having acquired a remarkable fluency in the Indian dialect, were of great service in the schools.

No complete list of the Capuchin laborers in Acadia during this period has come down to us. The names of twenty-three clergymen and nine lay-brothers survive. Some of them perished in the discharge of their duties in the colony; others were obliged to leave from sheer destitution and still others were banished from the country when it changed owners.⁸⁸

France remained in titular possession of Acadia for half a century after the dismemberment of the Port Royal school, but there is no evidence that the missionaries attempted its re-establishment. Port Royal, as the metropolis of population, was the logical situation for a school; but its security was thereafter fraught with so much uncertainty that it is

⁸⁷ Ignace, Brother, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March, 1917, p. 47 *et seq.*

probable the missionaries did not deem it wise or expedient to repeat the venture.

In 1713, France definitely relinquished her claims to Acadia, the interest of the French priests being confined thereafter chiefly to the discharge of their religious functions amongst the French inhabitants and the Indians. Their purpose, however, made necessary the continuation of catechumenal instruction in church doctrine and observances of the Christian life. While this phase of their work yields the most striking aspect of their educational efforts in the years that followed, there is reason to believe, as has already been shown, that they were not altogether unmindful of the secular educational needs of their flocks. As the missionaries at this time were invariably capable of conversing in the Indian tongue, they could teach the articles of faith to the savages simply and effectively.

The Ordre de Bon Temps.—Before disposing of the period of French ascendancy in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, mention should be made of an institution that at an early date performed service of a literary and educational character for the people at Port Royal. This was the ancient society of the “*Ordre de Bon Temps*,” organized by the clever Marc Lescarbot.

Lescarbot came to Acadia in the train of Poutrincourt in the spring of 1606. He had been a lawyer by profession but, conceiving law a useless and even base calling, he neglected his legal duties to pursue studies in literature. At Port Royal he took assiduously to horticulture and, when not engaged in the field, spent his time in retired study or in devising means of diversion for the long evenings. In his little room he had a few books brought from France and there, in his retreat, he wrote his diary and composed poems, some of which were afterwards printed under the title “*Muses de la Nouvelle France*.”²⁰

The *Ordre* included fifteen of the principal men of the place among whom were several possessing literary talent. Periodic meetings were held in the dining-hall of M. Poutrincourt's house, each member of the club assuming, in regular

²⁰ Lescarbot, Marc, *The History of New France*, Vol. 1, Intro., p. xlii.

succession, the office of Grand Master of the proceedings. A feast or banquet marked the opening of the meeting, this being followed by rounds of sharp discussion in which featured witty jokes, songs and the recital of verses, usually composed by Lescarbot himself.⁴⁰ These meetings were always attended by twenty or thirty savages, men, women, girls and boys. In this way the natives became accustomed to the ways of the white man and learned something of his language.⁴¹ The recreation was no less of educational benefit to the French inhabitants themselves, helping, as it did, in that remote little settlement to keep the spark of learning alive.

Lescarbot, in a more direct way also, became a sort of pedagogue to his compatriots. "I am not ashamed to confess," he writes, "that at the request of our chief, M. de Poutrincourt, I devoted some hours each Sunday to the religious instruction of our men, both in order to improve their minds and to offer an example to the Indians of our manner of living."⁴² He took great delight in observing the customs of the Indians, and he was wisely able to say to the missionaries, "It will be the part of prudence in the pastors to teach them carefully and not in fantastical ways."⁴³

This admonition lends additional weight to the view already expressed, that the French missionaries in Acadia discharged duties that might very properly be termed pedagogical. No doubt, they did considerable religious teaching. Before receiving the postulant Indians within the Church, it was necessary to subject them to a process of instruction, necessarily brief but sufficient for communion. Occasionally, throughout the documents, instances are given descriptive of the ceremonies incident to the confession of faith by the natives. Referring to the conversion of the Micmac chief, Membertou, with a score of his kinsmen in 1610, Lescarbot writes: "After the necessary instruction had been given, on St. John Baptist's Day, June 24, 1610, they were baptised to the number of 21."⁴⁴ Instruction of this kind was continued by the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Intro., Vol. 1; *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. 13, p. 30.

⁴¹ Lescarbot, Marc, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 343.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, Intro., p. xlii.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 180.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 37.

French priests in Nova Scotia long after it had ceased to be a French province.

The Notre Dame School at Louisbourg.—A serious effort to establish a school in Isle Royale (Cape Breton) was made by the French after the peace of 1713. Having by that treaty renounced all right to the peninsula, France determined to make Isle Royale the metropolis of French population in Eastern Canada with the principal establishment at Louisbourg. The town had about 500 inhabitants in 1715 out of a total for the entire island of 720; 963 in 1726 and 1,463 in 1737, when the estimate for the whole of Cape Breton was in the vicinity of 3,800.⁴⁵ This field had already at an early date been explored by Catholic missionaries.

By a charter granted to the Ecclesiastics of the Episcopal Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec by Richard Dennis on the 13th of August, 1685, the former were authorized to establish a church or chapel on Cape Breton with the privilege of enjoying certain land concessions. One stipulation was that the Seminary settle thereon a resident priest "for the purpose of preaching the Gospel and to instruct in the Faith and Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion all the said Indian aborigines and others who might join them."⁴⁶ This humble beginning received further impulse by the application of the settlement policy of 1714 in which education received more detailed consideration than formerly. With the establishment of the town at Louisbourg teachers now became necessary and, after a period of vacillation, choice for the work fell on the Notre Dame Sisters of Montreal. The order had been founded by Marguerite Bourgeois in 1659 and already had attained distinction in scholastic work.

Replying to a request for teachers by M. De St. Ovide, Governor of Cape Breton, the Bishop of Quebec suggested, in 1726, that a branch of the Notre Dame house be established at Louisbourg. The proposal, though accepted by the Governor, met with disapproval on presentation to the French Government.⁴⁷ By letters patent granted in 1716, a number

⁴⁵ McLennan, J. S., *Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758*, London, McMillan and Company, 1918, p. 371.

⁴⁶ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 2.

⁴⁷ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 79.

of Sisters of Charity were established in the town and brothers of the same order were about the same time put in charge of the hospital.⁴⁸ The home government deemed the services of these sufficient to meet the needs of the garrison. But the Bishop of Quebec, in a communication addressed to the French Foreign Minister soon afterwards, expressed the belief that the religious orders stationed at Louisbourg were not competent to meet the many demands the situation imposed on them.⁴⁹ Incident to the Bishop's exhortation, the field was opened to the Notre Dame Sisters in 1730 and an allowance of 1,500 livres granted them by the King of France.⁵⁰ Two years later Sister Marguerite le Roi came to Louisbourg, followed next year by three more sisters with Sister St. Joseph as superior.⁵¹

On the 8th of August, 1733, the Sisters purchased a house for 15,000 livres from Sieur et Dame Beaucour in which they opened a school.⁵² Their first pupils were orphan and destitute children. As facilities for accommodation began to improve they took in, for instruction, children of officers of the garrison.⁵³ Later on they received young women of the town as resident pupils.⁵⁴ For this latter purpose Governor Forant subsequently made them a grant of 1,600 livres per year.⁵⁵ This same gentleman, recognizing the meritorious character of their work, bequeathed them, at death, the whole of his property.⁵⁶ His will, however, was contested by his sister and but a portion of it fell to the institution.⁵⁷

Governor Forant's endowment provided for the education of six young women of the town. As to the total number of pupils in attendance, no figures are available, but communications that passed between the Sisters and the Vicar de l'Isle

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1887, pp. ccxviii; ccxxxviii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. ccxvii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 184.

⁵² *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 4.

⁵³ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1887, p. cccxiv.

⁵⁴ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 244.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1904, pp. 292-293.

Mention is made in the documents of the Sisters of Notre Dame being at Louisbourg as early as 1727. See *Reports on Can. Archives*, 1887, p. ccclii.

Dieu show that it was so great as to overtax accommodations. Frequent requests were made by the Sisters for alleviation of the situation. In 1733 the Comptroller, M. Sabatier, reported to the French Minister that the orphans had been placed with the Sisters and requested that some provision be made for their subsistence.⁵⁸ They requested a charter of establishment in 1736, but this was refused. Three years later, however, it was granted along with a yearly gratuity of 1,500 livres and a special donation of 3,000 livres more in compensation for the expense of establishment in 1733.⁵⁹

During the siege of 1744 the nunnery suffered severely from the bombardment; and after the fortress fell the Sisters were removed to France with the civilian population.⁶⁰ Disembarking at Rochefort, they made their way to La Rochelle where they took refuge in l'Hospital de St. Etienne.⁶¹ On restoration of Cape Breton to France by the treaty of 1748, the Sisters were asked to resume their teaching at Louisbourg, the Intendant stating that "it appears very desirable that these dear Sisters return."⁶² After an absence of almost four years they found their home, on arrival, in a most dilapidated condition and altogether unfit for occupation.⁶³ Their request, that the government of the colony put it in a fit state of repair, seems to have been ignored; for they were driven to the necessity, eventually, of renting new quarters at an annual cost of 500 livres. The new location was very inadequate to the Sisters' purpose, and we find them, as a consequence, confining their attention thereafter to the preparation of young girls for first communion. The number of these was also restricted to thirty. The Sisters reported that frequent protests were made by others who sought admission but who were refused because there was no place to put them.⁶⁴ Another source of annoyance to the Sisters was occasioned by the recall, in 1743, of their yearly allowance of 1,500 livres.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. cccxiv.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1904, pp. 267, 268.

⁶⁰ Chauveau, Pierre, *L'Instruction Publique au Canada, Quebec*, p. 171.

⁶¹ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 4.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 4.

In a letter dated for the year 1751, they reiterated **these** statements relative to their condition and stated **moreover** their embarrassment at trying to provide suitable **quarters** for the young women of M. De Forant's foundation.

It would appear that in time the Sisters succeeded in **their** efforts to command the interest of the authorities for **when** Louisbourg was taken in 1758 their property consisted of a building of fairly large dimensions situated near the center of the town.⁶⁵

The Sisters were probably among the last of the French inhabitants to leave Louisbourg after the capitulation of 1758. They were still there when Pichon wrote in 1760.⁶⁶ In 1768, however, Governor Franklin, writing to the Board of Trade, reported that the nunnery was in a state of ruin.⁶⁷ The last we hear of it is in the records of 1772 when Richard Bulkeley advised George Cottnam, Chief Magistrate at Louisbourg, to permit Lawrence Kavanagh to "occupy and convert to his own use the remaining part of the frame of a house at Louisbourg known by the name of nunnery."⁶⁸

With the demolition of the nunnery at Louisbourg the last material trace of educational achievement in Acadia by the French disappeared. Race rivalry and intolerance had accomplished for the school at Louisbourg what individual cupidity had achieved for the Port Royal seminaries over one hundred years before. The life history of those schools was short, and the warlike circumstances under which they persevered distracted their peaceful pursuits and threatened momentarily their very existence. But during this brief period of endurance they did more to educate and Christianize the Indians than the new domination accomplished in many years. They were educational pioneers in Acadia; the seminaries at Port Royal realizing a success denied their contemporaries at Quebec. The Capuchins in Acadia, as Lenthart notes, "had solved the problem in which Laval had failed;

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, Doc. 53, Plan of the Town of Louisbourg.

⁶⁶ Pichon, Thomas, *Genuine Letters and Memoirs* . . . p. 203.

⁶⁷ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 43, Doc. 53.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 136, p. 156.

For location of the nunnery at Louisbourg, consult Gridley's Map of 1745; a copy is contained in *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1871, p. clii.

They had put little French boys on the benches with the savages . . . This was a success which neither the Jesuits nor the Sulpitians had accomplished."⁶⁹

The capitulation of Acadia to the English changed the aspect of French education in the country forever after. In sequestered and remote parts of Nova Scotia communities of French families lingered long after the edict of ostracism had been enacted against them. Removed from educational influences and deprived of the services of their priests, they remained in comparative illiteracy. They seemed, indeed, to have lost the educational sense and their descendants, though numerous in certain sections of the province, remained, for long, rather outside the pale of educational interest. One reason for this undoubtedly is that the dominating language of instruction in their community schools has been foreign to their native vernacular.

Though, natural to such condition, their language lost its original purity, intrinsically through illiteracy and incidentally because of surroundings, they, nevertheless, have retained that characteristic ideal of religious devotion instilled in them by the early missionaries. They constitute at the present day a most promising element in the population of the province.

⁶⁹ Lenhart, Rev. John, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, No. 3, September, 1916, p. 224.

CHAPTER II

EARLY BRITISH PERIOD

1713-1766

By the treaty of peace of 1713, France, with other concessions, renounced in favor of England all political and territorial rights in the peninsula of Nova Scotia. The transfer involved the destiny of approximately 2,500 Acadian French, descendants of the earliest colonists in the province.⁷⁰ Many of them occupying lucrative farm lands in the vicinity of the Bay of Fundy were reluctant to leave. As they seemed to be of good faith they were accorded the privilege of remaining in possession of their property provided they complied with certain requirements. A few of them, unable to reconcile themselves to the change, withdrew to neighboring French territory. But the majority elected to remain. They took diligently to the cultivation of the soil, increasing both in number and influence. For another half century they were the principal European settlers in Nova Scotia, outnumbering by far their English co-laborers.

The attitude of the Imperial Government toward settlement in Nova Scotia during this period was marked by extreme dilatoriness. The number of civilian English families in the province in 1740 Paul Mascarene places at not upwards of half a dozen. They were outnumbered by the French in the proportion of thirty to one. Before Halifax was founded in 1749 persons of British extraction in the province did not exceed 400 in number. They comprised chiefly soldiers in garrison at Annapolis and a few more on guard at Canso.⁷¹

In dealing with the French the administration pursued the policy of allowing them the management of their own domestic and social relations so long as they manifested obedience to English control. Within certain limits, confessedly narrow, they were for a time masters of their own educational destinies. But no encouragement either of a financial or

⁷⁰*Report of Governor Vetch, Public Records of Nova Scotia, Vol. 5.*

⁷¹*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 1, An Account of Nova Scotia in 1743; Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1884, p. 93.*

moral nature was given them to establish schools. Later on, as we shall see, conditions prohibited such ventures among the French.

In the case of the militia, however, a genuine need for educational facilities was created. Though the number of soldiers quartered at Annapolis was rather inconsiderable, some of them were men of enlightenment and many had their families with them. These looked with dismay on the prospect of their children growing up unacquainted with even the elements of learning. They expressed their solicitude to the British Government and as a result we witness in the diminutive nuclei of population at Annapolis and Canso the first efforts of English schoolmasters in Nova Scotia.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.—The year after the capture of Port Royal, Colonel Nicholson laid before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts an address from the Council of War at Annapolis praying for the appointment of ministers to Nova Scotia.⁷² Since this Society came to exercise a controlling influence in shaping the educational and religious policy of the province throughout the 18th century, it seems desirable that for a proper understanding of the educational situation in Nova Scotia during that period a brief account, at least, be given of the principles of its foundation and the means adopted for their accomplishment.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (for brevity, usually referred to as the S. P. G.) was an institution closely affiliated with the established Church of England and consequently with the British Government. It was chartered in the year 1701 for the purpose “of providing a maintenance of an orthodox Clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King’s loving subjects in the Christian religion.”⁷³ This was interpreted as meaning “to settle the state of Religion as well as may be among our people there, which by all accounts we have very much wants their pious

⁷²Pascoe, C. F., *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892*, Fourth Edition, London, 1894, p. 107.

⁷³Pascoe, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

care: and then to proceed in the best methods they can towards the conversion of the natives. . . . The breeding up of persons to understand the great variety of Languages of those Countries in order to be able to converse with the natives, and preach the Gospel to them."

From the foregoing as the general statement of endeavor, a more specific code for the guidance of teachers and ministers was evolved in 1706. Its more salient points were: "the instruction and disposing of Children to live as Christians"; to teach them to read "the Holy Scriptures and other pious and useful Books" and to "write a legible hand"; to inculcate a spirit of industry and to initiate them in the rules of church attendance and devotion always keeping a vigilant eye for fit candidates for the ministry."⁴

The controlling purpose being evangelical, all teaching was organized on a strictly religious basis. It aimed at a high standard of religious instruction. Candidates for the office of teacher were required to show proficiency in the teaching of church doctrine and a certain familiarity with church ritual. A rule laid down in 1712 required that all schoolmasters in the service of the Society should have at least deacons' orders. Because of the difficulty it created in securing persons possessing the necessary qualifications, this requirement had eventually to be rescinded. Schoolmasters, according to the importance of the post, received from the Society an annual salary of ten to twenty pounds.⁵ We find them frequently denominated readers or catechists, their work in this capacity being often indistinguishable from that appertaining to the religious office. In the absence of duly ordained clergy, the catechist assembled the people together on Sunday to read service to them; and "in some isolated places where daily schools were impossible, by some small grant from the Society, some respectable person would be induced to Conduct a Sunday school and to read Church Service."⁶ In the field, the educational activities of the Society actually embraced "Pri-

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8; 846.

⁵Kemp, William Webb, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913, p. 56.

⁶Pascoe, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 846.

mary, Secondary and Collegiate education carried on in Day and Boarding Schools; and in some cases combined with Orphanages and Industrial training.””

The first educational work of the S. P. G. in North America began in 1704 when the organization opened a school for Indians and Negro slaves in the City of New York. This was a catechising school. In Newfoundland, the Society began to support schools about 1726. Two years later it had a representative schoolmaster in Nova Scotia.

Watts' School at Annapolis.—Unfortunately for those associated with Colonel Nicholson at Annapolis, the praiseworthy attempt made by their commander in 1711 to secure missionaries for Nova Scotia was unsuccessful. Many years passed before their hopes were realized.

Nova Scotia at that time seems to have been forgotten by official England. So far as British settlement is concerned, progress in the colony was static for many years. Likewise, the Society, afflicted apparently with the same indifferentism, while it exerted vigorous efforts to meet the demand for teachers and missionaries for the rest of the North American colonies, remained oblivious to similar needs existing in Nova Scotia. For almost twenty years after the capture of Port Royal the colony endured destitute of the services of an ordained clergyman of the Anglican Church.

The initiative was again taken by the garrison at Annapolis. In 1727 it addressed an appeal to the Society for the services of a chaplain. It seems that just then the directors of that organization were contemplating sending a missionary to Nova Scotia. The request hastened action and led to an immediate appointment in the person of the Reverend Richard Watts. His selection was fortunate, for Mr. Watts, in addition to being a minister, was also a capable teacher. His advent, therefore, marks the beginning of education in Nova Scotia under British rule.

Mr. Watts arrived at Annapolis towards the close of the year 1727. As an appointee of the Society, in addition to his allowance as a missionary, he was eligible also for participation in the funds devoted by that body to the extension of

”*Ibid.*, p. 769.

educational facilities in the plantations. His commission provided for an initial allowance of ten pounds per year a schoolmaster. All through the winter following his arrival he labored industriously to organize the religious and educational resources of the settlement, and so well did he progress that by spring he was prepared to begin classes.

The opening class of the school was held at Easter, 1728, in a building constructed for that purpose under Mr. Watts' supervision.⁷⁸ For study and textbooks all that was available were a number of bibles, prayer-books and tracts that the teacher had brought across from England. What was lacking in equipment, however, Mr. Watts made up for by ingenuity, tact and industry. Many adults who had attained to maturity in the colony he induced to attend classes with the children. At one time he had an attendance of fifty. In 1731, the schoolmaster's salary was doubled by the Society. More spacious accommodations had then become necessary, and Mr. Watts, after waiting for assistance until 1736, undertook to enlarge the school building, drawing for this purpose on his own resources. He was busily engaged in this project when the Society decided to remove him from Nova Scotia. An appointment was tendered him in New Bristol in New England and, abandoning his charge at Annapolis, he moved thither in 1738.⁷⁹ His departure left but one clergyman of the Church of England in Nova Scotia; he was the Reverend James Peden, stationed at Canso.

Peden's School at Canso.—Mr. Watts' sphere of jurisdiction covered the whole of Nova Scotia. In 1729, he reported that the people at Canso were "greatly bent to address the Society for a minister."⁸⁰ As the prospect of securing an assistant was remote, he offered to adopt the post as one of his missions. In 1733, however, the Society despatched the Reverend James Peden to fill the position of deputy chaplain for the province and auxiliary to Mr. Watts. By Mr. Watts' direction, Mr. Peden was designated to the office of spiritual director to the forces at Canso, where was established the principal outpost

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 108.

on the Atlantic shore and the only considerable settlement, after Annapolis, of British colonists in the province.

The educational condition of the Canso settlement at this time was very similar to what Mr. Watts had found it in Annapolis several years before; children were advancing to maturity ignorant of their religion and void of all educational discipline. To alleviate the situation, Mr. Peden resolved to open a school. Here as pedagogue he labored for three years, receiving no special compensation from the Society for this service. In appreciation of his efforts, however, the inhabitants memorialized the Society in 1736 praying that the usual advantages accorded schoolmasters be extended Mr. Peden. This resulted in his name being placed on the list of teachers and an allowance of ten pounds voted him. He continued in uninterrupted enjoyment of this gratuity until 1743, when it was withdrawn for the reason that he gave "a very insufficient account of the state of the school."⁸¹

After these initial attempts to establish schools, an interlude of educational lassitude followed throughout Nova Scotia. Interest of the Society in the country declined. There was little indication that any concerted effort to settle the country was impending and in some quarters it was suspected that, eventually, it would revert to French control. The latter still retained Cape Breton Island and Isle St. Jean. In the peninsula itself they were far superior to the English in numbers, and they exercised a much more powerful influence among the Indians than did their rivals. Governor Shirley wrote to the Duke of Newcastle in 1747 expressing his apprehension that the French would soon be masters of Nova Scotia.⁸² Had they rebelled the consequence might have been serious. Such an occurrence, no doubt, would have imperilled the safety of isolated English settlers in the province.

The obstacles to settlement created by these circumstances were further accentuated by current reports representing Nova Scotia to be "a bleak, marshy and almost uninhabitable country."⁸³ Characterizations of this nature are of frequent

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁸²*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1883, p. 32.

⁸³Martin, Montgomery, *History of Nova Scotia*, London, 1837, p. 23.

occurrence among the documents—official and private—of the time. Naturally they discouraged immigration, no one being desirous of leaving home to hazard settlement in a country of such reputed disfavor. Thus for many years the British population of the province consisted of the militia and disbanded soldiers, the latter characterized in the records as settlers of the “unprofitable sort” whose interest was not in the welfare of the colony.

What the administrators relied on during this period was apparently that the French inhabitants might in time be weaned from affinity for France and their colonizing experience used to the advantage of Britain. Since loyalty to France at that time was synonymous with fealty to the Catholic Church, it was obvious that the attainment of this purpose had to be achieved through the conversion of those people. While, therefore, the ultimate purpose of this tacit policy was political, the immediate was religious.

Governor Vetch of Massachusetts, writing from Boston to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in 1711, expressed his belief that it would be prudent to represent to Her Majesty that “free transportation, tools, and twelve months subsistence be offered to Her Protestant subjects of Britain and Ireland” to settle in Nova Scotia.⁸⁴ If with the above supposed planters,” he suggested, “att first two able clergymen, who understand the French were sent over I doubt not but by their means, and View of Interest, many of them (the French) would become Protestants.” His successor, Shirley, shared in the same view. His recommendations were, however, more pointed. Shirley advised in 1746 that the French priests be expelled from Nova Scotia and their place filled by protestant ministers; that protestant English schools be established and inducements made the French to send their children to them and conform to the protestant religion.⁸⁵ His manifesto, issued to the Acadians the following year, carefully refrained from introducing any statement that might be construed as

⁸⁴*Public Records of Nova Scotia*. Vol. 5.

⁸⁵Richard, Edouard, *Acadia—Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History*, New York, Home Book Company, Vol. 1, p. 219.

extending to them freedom in the exercise of their religious beliefs.⁸⁶

Formation of a School Policy for Nova Scotia.—As early as 1729 the Lords of Trade had recommended to the Privy Council that, in placing proposed protestant Irish and Palatine families, the same system, with necessary modifications, should be observed in Nova Scotia as was in general use in New England. As regards education, this provided for the reservation in every township of a strip of land for the maintenance of a minister, a church and a grammar school.⁸⁷ Conditions in Nova Scotia being in general similar to those existing in New England, the policy was adopted. This accounts for the origin of the church and school-land reservations in Nova Scotia.

The policy was to have been put in effect by Governor Philips. Upon his recall, his successor, Armstrong, was instructed to make this the guiding principle in issuing land grants to settlers in the province. In 1732, he issued his proclamation. The nature of the provisions made therein for education is revealed in the instructions given by the Governor to Paul Mascarene, one of the Council members, authorizing him to proceed to Boston to solicit immigration from the New England plantations. These orders in part read:

It being his Majesty's will and pleasure that this his Province of Nova Scotia should be settled and that chiefly with Protestant inhabitants. These are therefore (in order to forward the same) to empower and authorize you, Major Paul Mascarene, to proceed to Boston in New England and there (first acquainting the Governor of that his Majesty's Province) to treat with such of his Majesty's Subjects as may apply to you during your abode there, for information of the soil and situation of the province. . . . That a Town lot and a Sufficient quantity of land Shall be Sett apart within the Said parish or District for the Minister as also to the Schoolmaster and their successors in office.

That for the Encouragement of the first Minister and Schoolmaster, Grants in fee Simple Shall be made to Each of

⁸⁶*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1883, p. 33.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 1894, p. 71.

them for Lots as aforesaid to the other Inhabitants, for them and their heirs forever.⁸⁸

Owing to the failure of Mascarene's mission these measures then attained no practical realization. They underwent further elaboration by Lieutenant Amherst in 1745. Amherst's proposal was "to lay out the land in townships of four miles square, divided into 66 shares, two of these appropriated for a minister and schoolmaster and four for the Crown."⁸⁹

The founding of Halifax in 1749 signalized the application of the land policy to Nova Scotia. The immigration of that year brought an accretion to the English in Nova Scotia of upwards of 2,500 souls that increased rapidly to over 6,000 in 1751.⁹⁰ The plan was to settle, with protestants, six townships of convenient size, reserving in each plots for a church and school and tracts suitably located for the use of a minister and schoolmaster. Surveys of townships were made in several districts of the province. By mutual arrangement, the clergymen and teachers were to be supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The terms of the agreement by which the Society accepted responsibility for the necessary teachers and schoolmasters are contained in a letter addressed to that body by the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations on April 6th, 1749. That document states:

His Majesty Having given directions that a number of persons should be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia, in North America, I am directed by my Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to desire you will acquaint the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that it is proposed to settle the said persons in six townships and that a particular spot will be set apart in each of them for building a church, and 400 acres of land adjacent thereto granted in perpetuity free from the payment of any Quit Rent to a minister and his successors, and 200 acres in like manner to a schoolmaster. Their Lordships therefore recommend to this Society to name a minister and schoolmaster for each of the said townships, hoping that they will give such encouragement to them

⁸⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 20, Doc. 87.

⁸⁹*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 110.

⁹⁰*Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. 13, p. 83.

as the Society shall think proper, until their land can be so far cultivated as to afford a sufficient support.

I am further to acquaint you that each clergyman who shall be sent with the persons who are to form the first settlement, will have a grant of 200 acres of land, and each schoolmaster 100 acres in perpetuity to them and their heirs as also 30 acres over and above their said respective quotas, for every person of which their families shall consist; and that they will likewise be subsisted during their passage and for twelve months after their arrival, and furnished with arms, ammunition and materials for husbandry, building their houses, etc., in like manner as the other settlers.⁹¹

The opportunity was embraced by the Society. In addition to the land grants, privileges assuring its teachers freedom from competition in Nova Scotia were obtained by the Society. This condition was established by an order directed to Governor Cornwallis authorizing him to prohibit teaching in the province by any person except under license of the Lord Bishop of London.⁹²

These were advantages sufficient to guarantee the Society supreme control in education in the province. Collectively they had the effect of limiting educational and religious privileges in Nova Scotia exclusively to that body and imparting to our original educational system a character decidedly denominational. Because of the provisions of this charter the Society was able, years later, to maintain, with a great deal of propriety, that, in so far as the school lands were concerned, these, at least, were intended for the enjoyment of its representatives alone. Apparently this intricate question was beyond the power or ability of our courts to adjudicate, and, as we shall see, the school lands became ultimately an anomaly in the educational affairs of the province.

On ratification of the agreement with the Lords of Trade the Society voted an annual salary of fifteen pounds and a special gratuity of ten pounds, also *per annum*, to teachers who embarked with the first settlers to each township.⁹³ This basic salary, five pounds in excess of that given to either Watts

⁹¹Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces*, Halifax, 1849, pp. 12-13.

⁹²*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 438, Doc. 58.

⁹³*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7, p. 92.

or Peden, was said, at the time, to be the greatest remuneration ever given by the organization to any schoolmaster upon any occasion.

One schoolmaster of the name of Halhead (or Holhead) came to Halifax with the immigrants of 1749. That he was an appointee of the Society is not altogether clear. He fell sick soon after arrival, his presence in the colony remaining unknown. This was apparently the case for the Society's missionary, the Reverend Mr. Tutty, who accompanied the expedition, wrote to London in the late fall to request that the schoolmasters appointed for Nova Scotia be sent as soon as possible; their presence was much needed and none had yet arrived.⁹⁴ The following April, Mr. Halhead reported to Mr. Tutty but as he carried no credentials the latter had no authority to avail himself of his services. Mr. Halhead seems to have made a favorable impression on Mr. Tutty, for in 1751 the reverend gentleman recommended him for the post of teacher in the building then partly ready for holding classes.⁹⁵ We have no record, however, that Mr. Halhead received the appointment.

The Orphan School at Halifax.—The building above alluded to was the Orphan School, the first educational institution erected in Halifax. The frame of the structure was erected in the early spring of 1750. It was designed to provide accommodation for orphans until they were fit to go as apprentices to fishermen.⁹⁶ It was ready for occupation in 1752, the Reverend John Breynton being its first supervisor. During the first year of its existence the institution cared for fifty children. Their teacher was a discharged soldier named Ralph Sharrock. Sharrock was the first teacher in Halifax to receive the pay of an S. P. G. schoolmaster; and, so far as records reveal, the first English lay-schoolmaster in all Nova Scotia.⁹⁷

For many years the Orphan School was the only public educational institution in Halifax. Mr. Sharrock was suc-

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 106; 115.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁹⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 38, Doc. 11.

⁹⁷Akins, Thomas B., *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; *Ibid.*, *History of Halifax*, p. 70.

ceeded by Mr. Buchanan, who held office until 1762.⁹⁸ In 1758, Ann Wenman was matron of the institution.⁹⁹ The educational facilities it afforded were at this time open to poor children of the town as well as to orphans. The rule followed was to admit children at eight years of age and indenture them at twelve. In the nine years ending with 1761 the establishment cared for 275 children, most of whom were orphans.¹⁰⁰

Almost from its inception the progress of the Orphan School was retarded by financial difficulties. Its maintenance during the first year involved an expenditure of 233 pounds, 10 shillings. A yearly appropriation of 588 pounds was voted for its use in 1761, but this fell short of meeting expenses incurred for that year by 125 pounds. The expenditure was heavy and rather disproportionate to the number of children provided for, considering that they numbered but 32. Mr. Belcher attributed the unsatisfactory condition to "the too unlimited expense in the number admitted and in the conduct of this charity."¹⁰¹ He intimated that henceforth the charity was to be confined to its original intention.

Between the years 1750 and 1754 several ships arrived at Halifax bearing immigrants from the Continent. These were mostly Germans and Swiss. With the Germans came their own teacher, a man named Gottfried Jorpel. As they were without a minister, they engaged Mr. Jorpel to lead in the singing and read divine service to them in the little Lutheran church they had erected in Dutch Town.¹⁰²

In company with the Germans and Swiss came a number of Protestant French, chiefly from the town of Montbéliard. Their minister and teacher, Jean Baptiste Moreau, a native of Dijon, in Burgundy, arrived in advance. His mission was two-fold—to act as preceptor to the Protestant French and

⁹⁸*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 230.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁰⁰*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 37, Doc. 11.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, Vol. 37, Doc. 11.

¹⁰²Roth, Luther D., *Acadie and the Acadians*, 3rd ed., Press of L. C. Childs & Son, Utica, N. Y., 1891, pp. 108; 113.

to convert the Catholic French already settled in the country.¹⁰²

It was represented in the letter of the Lords of Trade to the S. P. G. in 1749 that all the inhabitants of Nova Scotia to the number of 20,000 were French Catholics whose clergy took orders from the French Bishop of Quebec; and it was recommended that if some of the ministers and schoolmasters sent out by the Society were able to speak French they might be "particularly useful in cultivating a sense of the true Protestant religion among the said inhabitants and educating their children in the principles thereof."¹⁰⁴ Mr. Moreau wrote the Society from Halifax in July, 1750: "I shall endeavor by assiduous toil as soon as the French Protestants, for whom we wait here shall arrive, to recall to the truth a great number of people who are suffering here under the weight of error and Ignorance."¹⁰⁵

When the majority of foreign immigrants moved to Merliguesh in 1753, Moreau followed them. Here the new township of Lunenburg had been surveyed and planned. Moreau went to supervise general religious activities, but more especially to teach the Calvinists and convert the few French families already settled there. Mr. Sey (or Ley), as assistant to Moreau, watched over the spiritual needs of the Germans. To compensate him for his services the Council at Halifax voted him a gratuity of five pounds.¹⁰⁶

Since Mr. Jorpel had remained behind in Dutch Town, no teacher was available for the German children. Moreau referred the situation to the administrators and was informed that when Mr. How who was on his way from England arrived, he would be sent to fill the vacancy provided he acquiesced to the German proposals and was willing to teach without public salary.¹⁰⁷ The Council apparently modified its intention, for the next year it appropriated four pounds

¹⁰²Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Colonies*, p. 17. DesBrisay, Mather H., *History of the County of Lunenburg*, Toronto, William Briggs, 1895, p. 81.

¹⁰⁴Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Colonies*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7, p. 125.

¹⁰⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 210, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. 134, p. 13.

each for the benefit of the Lutheran and Calvinistic teachers at Lunenburg.¹⁰⁸

An English school of more stable foundation was conducted at Lunenburg in 1758 by Mr. Bailly, an Anglican minister. It seems, however, to have been poorly attended. Moreau attributed this condition to dread of the Indians, but more likely it was due to the disaffection of the German element in the population.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Bailly's school was an English school, not at all to the liking of the Germans. They obstructed its progress by persistently refusing to send their children to Bailly for instruction. One of their number, a catechist of the name of Schultz, was engaged to set up a school in opposition to the English institution. Here he conducted services in the Lutheran rite and disciplined and taught the German children of the settlement. More success attended Bailly's efforts among the French, however. They showed themselves more amenable, sending a fair proportion of their children to the English school to be taught reading, writing and the catechism.¹¹⁰

As time went on, the discontent among the Germans of Lunenburg became more active and acute, the trouble being centered chiefly about the question of education. The expectations of the Germans seem to have been to establish themselves in a segregated settlement, where they would be free to perpetuate the customs and traditions of the home land. They were out of sympathy, consequently, with a school system that aimed at the complete anglicanization of their children. They wanted German schools disciplined by German schoolmasters.

On the other hand, the S. P. G. policy was not designed to foster evidences of national differences opposed to British sentiment and tradition. To educate the people into a uniform belief in religion was its prevailing purpose. Against the successful prosecution of this design the Germans presented a more stubborn obstacle than did the French reacting more aggressively than the latter to what they regarded as

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. 210, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹*Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 216.*

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 95, 216.

an encroachment on their privileges. When, with a view of pacifying the turbulence, Reverend Robert Vincent was sent to Lunenburg as missionary and teacher in 1762, the situation was extremely critical. Violent demonstrations in protest against the school policy were made. No persuasion could induce the Germans to support the English school; they were determined and fixed in their intention to have a German teacher for their children at any cost. If coercion were attempted, there was danger that it would lead to serious consequences. Vincent's instructions, nevertheless, directed him to establish an English school. One hundred acres of land were reserved for his use. As teacher he was voted a yearly salary of twenty pounds by the Governor's Council at Halifax and five pounds additional by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹¹¹

Vincent's appointment added fresh impulse to the prevalent discontent. The Germans were disappointed. After the coldness shown his predecessor they entertained the hope that the educational policy would undergo some modification and that their wishes would be consulted in the selection of the next teacher. Although Vincent estimated the number of German children in the settlement under twelve years of age to be 596, none of them came to his school for instruction.¹¹²

As a probable remedy for the provoking situation he requested the privilege of engaging a teacher from among the Germans to assist him with his classes, "for," he said, "the Germans are unwilling to have an English education if it costs them anything."¹¹³ Gotlieb Neuman, who had taught the German children prior to Vincent's arrival, accepted the proffered position. Although Neuman enjoyed a measure of favor among the German element, the administration of his classes under Vincent's supervision was displeasing to them. Vincent had to report in 1764 that the people of Lunenburg were very indifferent about sending their children to be taught. His mission, like Bailly's was apparently a failure. The Council, at least, convinced that such was the case, withdrew

¹¹¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 204; *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 229.

¹¹²*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 230.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, p. 239.

the grant of twenty pounds. Left with but the S. P. G. allowance of five pounds, Vincent was obliged to discharge Neuman.¹¹⁴ Dissolution of the school followed almost immediately.

Vincent's failure was not due altogether to his own improvidence. His orders relative to the conduct of his school were explicit. Mr. Belcher appreciated his efforts and in his behalf exhorted the Society to raise his status thereby making him eligible for the full pay of a schoolmaster.¹¹⁵

Under the strain and worry of his onerous duties Mr. Vincent's health began to fail soon after the breaking up of the school. His last official communication to the Council is somewhat pathetic—he expresses surprise that his salary should be discontinued without premonition and prays that the allowance for rent be retained. Following this appeal, he resigned and setting out for London late in the fall of 1765, after six months of inactivity, he died in Halifax on November 15.¹¹⁶

In the chronicle of Jung, of contemporary date, the school difficulty at Lunenburg is imputed to the passive attitude the administrators assumed towards the educational aspirations of the Germans. They saw, he said, with injured feeling that the French proprietors, whom they outnumbered five-fold, were provided with a teacher at the moment of settlement while they were constrained to wait several years in the hope that similar recognition would be taken of the needs of their children.¹¹⁷ "And," continues Jung, "because we could no longer endure to see the pitiful condition of our children, growing up in ignorance, we determined to wait no longer upon our superiors. We accordingly made the necessary arrangements among ourselves without governmental aid, and finally succeeded in securing the services of a German school teacher in the year 1760."¹¹⁸ When attendance at the school was good, he writes, "hindrances were laid in our way by those who should have given us aid. At this time the Rev-

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 259.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 264; 265.

¹¹⁷Roth, Luther D., *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.

erend Robert Vincent came into our settlement as English missionary. The services were conducted by him in the English language. He took our German schoolmaster under his patronage and control, paying him a salary of five pounds per annum. . . . The German language was entirely abolished from our school, and the order was issued that those who would not study the English language would not be allowed to attend the school. . . . Through this the school was broken up."¹¹⁹

From their point of view the Germans had, no doubt, sufficient cause for complaint. They wanted to preserve their religion and they wished, even more ardently, perhaps, to perpetuate their language. Both these elements were in jeopardy in English schools supervised by Anglican schoolmasters who were at the same time ministers of their church.

From the moment of their arrival in Halifax the Germans showed disappointment with the prospects the country offered for settlement. Likely it differed considerably from what had been represented to them. But though they may have been misinformed in respect to conditions obtaining in the colony, they had no cause to complain that they had been deceived in the matter of schools. No mention is made in the records of the period of assurances made the Germans that they were to enjoy educational privileges in their own tongue. Jung's criticism of government, that it offered no support to the Germans in providing for their teachers, seems a bit unjust. State documents of the province show that in 1754 four pounds were appropriated by the Council for the benefit of a Lutheran teacher at Lunenburg.¹²⁰ He was probably Mr. Sey. As he was not, apparently, of German selection, Jung does not reckon him one of their teachers. Later on, though, as in the case of Neuman, German teachers at Lunenburg received compensation other than that provided by the inhabitants themselves, the fact that they taught under supervision of the English school put them outside the class of representative German schoolmasters. It was not until many years after the departure of Vincent that the Germans at Lunenburg procured a teacher acceptable to their wishes.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.

¹²⁰See page 16.

Private Schools in Halifax.—In Halifax, the Orphan School was throughout this period the only institution for the public education of children. Yet among the older people, as a rule, a fair degree of scholarship prevailed. They being engaged usually in some department of governmental administration or commercial activity, the nature of the work stimulated learning to some extent. Many of the inhabitants, moreover, had received a good education in the old country. Occasionally they turned their talent towards private tuition. An act passed by the Council on the 10th of May, 1753, dispensing schoolmasters from obligation of bearing arms in the militia helped along this tendency.¹²¹

In the absence of public schools, private schools made their appearance early in Halifax. An advertisement in the first issue of the *Halifax Gazette* of date March 23, 1752, is the first notice we have of the existence within the town of a school for private instruction:

At the sign of the hand & pen at the south end of Granville Street are carefully taught by Leigh & Wragg, spelling, reading, writing in all its different hands, arithmetic in all its parts, merchants' accompts, or the true method of bookkeeping in a new and concise manner. Likewise all parts of the Mathematics, & for the convenience of grown people improving their learning any of the above arts & sciences will be taught 2 hours every evening at 6 o'clock.

N. B. The above Leigh draws engrosses and transcribes writing of all kinds, & adjusts accompts of ever so difficult & will keep them in methodical way by the year.

N. B. The Mathematics by Wragg the other parts by Leigh. Sold at the above place Quill pens inks writing papers writing and spelling books & slate pencils.¹²²

Another school of the same nature but of humbler pretension was advertised in the same paper on March 26th of the same year:

Reading school for children kept, & gold & silver lace cleaned & all sorts of silk also mournings stiffened by Elizabeth Render near Mr. Tutty's new house on Barrington St.¹²³

A private school offering a course rather encyclopedic in

¹²¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 209, pp. 36 et seq.

¹²²*Halifax Gazette*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 23, 1752.

¹²³*Ibid.*, March 26, 1752.

scope was advertised in the issue of the *Halifax Gazette* for April 6th, 1752:

At the Academy in Grafton Street. Young men are speedily instructed & well grounded in the true art of spelling by rules short & easy but expressive & comprehensible to almost the youngest capacity. They are likewise taught reading writing arithmetic, French, Latin & Dancing, Algebra, Geometry Trigonometry both plain and spherical the mensuration of Planes and Solids Surveying, gauging Navigation Astronomy taught by Trigonometry or without any at all by a method more concise than can be effected by Trig, & much more easy to comprehend by an ordinary capacity, as the great & learned Mathematician Mr. Whiston hath testified & may be proved for the satisfaction of any who doubt by me Henry Merton.

N. B. Young ladies as well as Gents taught dancing every Wed. & Sat. afternoon.¹²⁴

Although newspaper files for many years after contain no further notices of this description it seems very probable that private schools, not publicly advertised, existed throughout the city in the meanwhile. One fact corroborative of this opinion consists in the number of permits to teach issued by the Governor and Bishop before the passage of the school law of 1766. The Governor's commission book shows that six licenses to teach passed under the great seal of the province during that period. While some of those schoolmasters, no doubt, followed their avocation in some of the outlying townships some of them remained in the city. Daniel Shatford's school, for instance, was a feature in the educational life of Halifax until his death in 1774.¹²⁵

What was accomplished educationally in Nova Scotia during this period was not extensive. Until 1766 Halifax and Lunenburg were the only centers of population in the province where the need of schools and teachers was really felt. In the remoter parts of the province adjoining the Bay of Fundy and vicinity, in consequence of the efforts of Governor Lawrence, extensive areas were already being taken up by immigrants from the New England colonies and from Protestant

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, April 6, 1752.

¹²⁵*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 165.

Ireland. But before 1766 little was done in the way of school establishment in these districts.

By the removal of the French in 1755 the inland sections of Nova Scotia were left practically deserted. Even while in the country the Acadians, as we have seen, attracted little attention educationally except in so far as their conversion was considered from time to time. An able clergyman of theirs, the Abbé Maillard, was their spiritual adviser for many years. He was in good standing with the administrators being in the latter part of his career in receipt of a stipend of one hundred pounds from the Council at Halifax.¹²⁶ His knowledge of the Micmac dialect and his production of a Micmac grammar and dictionary were regarded as remarkable achievements of the time.

In the principal settlement, Halifax, private schools combined with home instruction provided facilities for mental improvement for the better situated class of children. For the more ambitious of the poorer sort means of acquiring an elemental education was afforded by the Orphan School. In general principle, the tutorial system in vogue in Halifax at this time represented the transfer to Nova Scotia of ideals in educational method then in general observance in England.

Educationally the most noteworthy issue of the period was the development of a school program for the province. Unfortunately for future school expansion it made education a monopoly. The educational intolerance it engendered and the animosity and dissatisfaction it created gave rise to many a sharp discussion before its effects were finally obliterated from the school life of Nova Scotia. Its influence was still apparent well on into the middle of the last century.

¹²⁶*Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 288.*

CHAPTER III

A PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1766—1780

The settlement of Halifax, although constituting a landmark in the history of Nova Scotia, did not materially assist in the development of the outlying parts of the province. The only evidence of Britain's effort to people Nova Scotia a decade afterwards was to be seen in the settlement at Halifax, the few families stationed at Canso, the German colony at Lunenburg, and the garrison at Annapolis. The interior of the country was yet untouched and the prospect of Nova Scotia becoming a settled colony was even then small.¹²⁷ This gloomy outlook underwent some transformation, however, in the few succeeding years by the application of an effective settlement policy by Governor Lawrence.

Following the removal of the Acadian French, Lawrence, in 1758, sent agents amongst the colonists of New England inviting them to the lands lately vacated by the French planters in the vicinity of the Bay of Fundy and Minas Basin.¹²⁸ He also issued an appeal for settlers from abroad and proclaimed the policy to be observed in making grants of land in every county and township into which he proposed to divide the unoccupied lands. His plan was to apportion the land in townships of 100,000 acres each in which allotments were obtainable by prospective settlers in either large or small parcel. In some instances the king's mandamus was issued for areas, ten, twenty or more thousand acres in extent.¹²⁹

As a result of the application of those measures there was in the year 1763 a sprinkling of population along the coast-line from Halifax westward to Cape Sable and up the shore of the Bay of Fundy to the isthmus of Chignecto. Lunenburg comprising the three townships, Lunenburg, Chester and New Dublin, had a population of about 1,600 people; Queens County

¹²⁷*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 223, Doc. 117.

¹²⁸Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England*, etc., p. 31.

¹²⁹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 223, Doc. 117; Vol. 346, Doc. 10.

had 200 families in its three townships, Liverpool, Barrington and Yarmouth; Annapolis County containing two townships—Annapolis and Granville—had about 800 settlers; the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth and Newport forming Kings County had a combined population of 2,000. Truro Township was occupied by 53 proprietors and Onslow by 52. The shore from Tatamagouche to Canso was uninhabited and the coast from the latter place to Lawrence Town was known only to coasters and transient fishermen. The town of Halifax itself had at the same date 2,500 inhabitants.¹³⁰

The School Lands.—In most of the townships laid out under Lawrence's direction lands were appropriated, in conjunction with reservations for church purposes, for the maintenance of a school and the support of a schoolmaster. By the year 1785 the school-land reservations in 31 townships of the province aggregated 12,000 acres.¹³¹ A list indicating the location of most of these reservations and the year in which they were made follows:¹³²

1759,	600 acres reserved at Chester
1761,	600 acres reserved at Horton
1761,	600 acres reserved at Newport
1761,	400 acres reserved at Falmouth
1761,	400 acres reserved at Cornwallis
1763,	500 acres reserved at Amherst
1765,	500 acres reserved at Jeddore
1765,	500 acres reserved at Truro
1765,	500 acres reserved at Onslow
1765,	500 acres reserved at Londonderry
1765,	500 acres reserved at Granville
1767,	500 acres reserved at Barrington
1772,	500 acres reserved at Annapolis
1782,	400 acres reserved at Windsor
1784,	344 acres reserved at Shelburne
1784,	500 acres reserved at Country Harbor
1784,	500 acres reserved at Liverpool
1784,	400 acres reserved at Lunenburg
1784,	600 acres reserved at Sissibo.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 222, Doc. 12; *Reports on Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 220.

¹³¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 438, Doc. 58; Pascoe, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹³²*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 434, Doc. 1.

Additional grants were made from time to time and occasionally the area of the old reservations increased. For the support of King's College numerous tracts of varying extent were reserved in different parts of the province. In 1788, 402 acres were set apart for school purposes at Digby, and in 1792, 400 acres at Dartmouth. The school lot at Sisibo (Weymouth) was enlarged to 600 acres in 1803, and in 1810, 520 acres were appropriated for school purposes at Yarmouth.¹³³ By surveys conducted in 1813 previous land grants for schools were supplemented by an addition of 4,625 acres comprising tracts in twelve settlements in different parts of the province.¹³⁴ These latter parcels of land were made in favor of the Chief Justice of the province to be held in trust by the Bishop and the Secretary.

These land concessions for school purposes were made in conformity with the agreement of the Lords of Trade with the S. P. G. in 1749; the Royal Orders issued to Governor Cornwallis in 1749, and the more recent instructions given Governor Lawrence in 1756 authorizing him to reserve "a particular spot in or near each town for the building of a church and four hundred acres adjacent thereto for the maintenance of a minister and two hundred acres for a schoolmaster;"¹³⁵ and to retain, likewise, over and above the stated amount, one hundred acres in each township free of quit rent for ten years, for the use of all schoolmasters sent out by the Society.¹³⁶ Prior to 1766 ministers of the Church of England exercised a sort of guardianship over the school plots lying in their respective parishes pending their occupation by duly appointed teachers.

But because of a school law passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature in that year administration of all school lands in the province was vested in a board of trustees endowed with corporate powers. Usually the ministers of the parishes in which the lands were situated and the church wardens were named trustees. From this circumstance, partly, the view came to prevail that the original intention was to reserve these lands

¹³³*Ibid.*, Vol. 434, Doc. 1.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. 348, Doc. 11.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

exclusively for the benefit of S. P. G. teachers although there had been no express agreement to that effect. The school lands were, in fact, eventually regarded by the Society as being part of the church lands and in some cases, as for instance at Yarmouth, they were sold and the proceeds applied for the use of the parish church.¹³⁷ During the first half of the nineteenth century when the educational system of the province was undergoing a reorganization and the tendency was to divest it of its denominational character the school lands were a source of great annoyance to the Legislature. Proposals were made at various times to appropriate them for general educational purposes but on every occasion the S. P. G. vigorously resisted such attempts.

The authority reserved to the Lord Bishop of London to verify all permits to teach in Nova Scotia, when applied, was a means of confining that privilege to persons professing the creed of the Established Church and thereby limiting to schoolmasters of that religious denomination exclusive enjoyment of lands reserved for school purposes. Throughout the eighteenth century there is not an instance to be found in which any such license was granted to any other than a schoolmaster employed by the Society.¹³⁸

In those townships in which the school lands remained unoccupied an additional difficulty was created by squatters who from time to time established themselves upon these reserves and protested when their eviction was attempted. Contentions resulting from this circumstance were frequently referred to the administration at Halifax for adjudication—notably the difficulty that arose in connection with the appointment of Mr. Fullerton, teacher to Horton township, in 1791,¹³⁹ and the controversy that ensued in 1802 when it was attempted to expel squatters who had settled on the school reservations at Weymouth.¹⁴⁰

The school law of 1811, although it indicated the drift toward non-denominational schools, made no attempt to make new disposal of the school lands; neither did the more com-

¹³⁷Brown, George S., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹³⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 438, Doc. 58.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. 411, Doc. 21.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 396B.

prehensive laws of 1826 and 1832. But when the school grants of 1813 were made an arrangement was contracted whereby they came under the control of the Bishop of the diocese and two trustees of the township in which they were located.¹⁴¹ They were administered in this manner until 1838 when it was contended in the Nova Scotia Legislature that, though the church and clergy lands might be retained for the sole use of the Church of England and its ministers, the school lands should revert to public control and might lawfully be applied to general educational purposes. Founded on this assumption, resolutions were made to alienate these lands from the authority of the S. P. G. and given hearings in the Assembly.¹⁴²

The matter was brought fairly before the Imperial Government in 1839 when the Provincial Legislature passed "An Act to Provide for the selection and appointment of Trustees of Lands, granted, or otherwise allotted, as School Lands, or for Schools in this Province." The measure provided for the appointment of three trustees in every township and district "to take possession of all such lands, in or by any grant or grants, reserved, granted or set apart for Schools, or for the use of Schools, or as the School Lot, or as School Lands, and to improve the same, and to Lease the same for any term not exceeding Twenty-one years, to the best advantage, and to pay and apply the rents and profits of any such Lands, in the Education of Poor Children, or otherwise, to and for the use and benefit of Schools in such Township or District."¹⁴³ A clause was inserted stipulating that nothing in the act was to be construed so as to invalidate any lease on school lands which had already undergone legal execution.

Sir Colin Campbell, then Governor of Nova Scotia, withheld his assent to the measure, submitting it to the Imperial Government for consideration. On this occasion the Bishop of Nova Scotia and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts appealed successfully for its dis-

¹⁴¹Eaton, Arthur W. H., *The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia, Salem, Mass.*, The Salem Press Company, 1910, p. 269.

¹⁴²Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress, etc.*, pp. 31-32. Pascoe, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁴³*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1836-1840*, c. 32.

allowance. A statement of the imperial decision, transmitted to the Nova Scotia Legislature by Lord John Russell in September, 1839, indicates the intricate nature of the problem. It is as follows:¹⁴⁴

The claim advanced by the Bishop of Nova Scotia extends to the whole of the Lands set apart for Educational objects, whether already appropriated to these purposes, or already vested by the Provincial Act of 1766, in the hands of Trustees for the use of Schools. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, although not possessed of a strict Legal Right, have established an equitable claim to that portion of the Land which is already occupied and improved; and they consider that the Society should be left to the entire and unreserved possession of it, for the purpose to which it is at present dedicated; setting aside any other consideration, the Society in connexion with the Established Church of England and Ireland, have, by the extent and efficiency of their arrangements, for dispensing the benefits of education throughout the Province, entitled themselves to the free enjoyment of the property.

You will have collected from what I have now stated, that it is not my intention to advise Her Majesty's Government to assent to the act passed in the last Session of the Provincial Legislature entitled, "An Act to provide for the Selection and Appointment of Trustees of Lands granted or reserved or otherwise allotted as School Lands, or for Schools in this Province." The legal opinions which have been taken on this Act, confirm the doubt which was entertained by the Government as to the competency of the Local Legislature to exercise this jurisdiction over the Lands in question. The Act passed is open to the strong objection that it extends to all Lands originally reserved or granted for the purposes of Schools which must be plainly improper, so far as relates to Lands vested in Trustees appointed from time to time by the Governor. Even if the claim of the Society had been altogether rejected, still the property, not having been found to be with them, would devolve on the Crown, and be disposable by the Crown, and not by the Local Legislature. But independently of what I have already Stated, it appears to me that the Act is liable to this other grave objection, that it seeks, by a direct exercise of power, to enforce a settlement of a question embodying many important points of propriety rights and equitable consideration which only could be satisfactorily arranged, after a full examination of the grounds on which the

¹⁴⁴*Journals of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1839-1840.*

claims of the parties were founded. At the same time I should wish it to be distinctly understood that Her Majesty's Government do not express any dissent from the general views which the Legislature appear to entertain, were they to be applied to a matter upon which they could be allowed to operate, with Justice to the Crown, and fairness to other parties.

Should the Provincial Legislature undertake the settlement of the rules for the application of future Grants, Her Majesty's Government will readily concur in the Provisions of this Act for the management of any Lands which may hereafter, from time to time, be devoted to Educational purposes.

I will even go further to meet the views of the Legislature of Nova Scotia.

With reference to the unoccupied portions of the Lands already granted, Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to admit the claim of the Society. Neither are they prepared to state the mode of appropriation which it would be just and proper to adopt with regard to this portion of the Lands. I entertain strong doubts, whether, in departing from the view taken by the Society as to their equitable title to these lands also, it might not be proper in a certain degree to qualify that dissent, and to admit their claim to a portion of them. Her Majesty's Government feel every disposition to meet the views of the Society, and to aid their exertions for this great public object; and it would prove highly satisfactory to them if, by mutual concession on the part of the parties interested, this embarrassing question could be satisfactorily arranged. I would, therefore, suggest for your consideration, whether it might not be practicable to relieve the Government from the further discussion of this question by the appointment of a Commission which might distinguish those Lands upon which the care and the Funds of the Society had been bestowed from those which had been left altogether waste and unprofitable. Upon the Report of such a Commission, might be framed some measure in the Provincial Legislature, with the Concurrence of the Government, by which a partition of these reservations should be made, leaving one portion for the support of the Schoolmasters of the Society, and the other for the purposes of Education generally. Some such arrangement provided it were so clearly defined as not to lead to litigation, although it would not meet the claims of either party, might be accepted by both as a means of reconciling those differences which cannot be protracted without injury to the province generally, and more to that important object which all parties have in view.

Another attempt was made by the Assembly in 1850 to make

legal disposal of the school lands. The legislative enactment of that year, entitled "An Act Concerning School Lands and the Appointment of Trustees therefor," was very similar in design to the act of 1839. It provided for the appointment of three trustees in every county and township who, acting as a corporate body, were to assume control of the school lands within their respective localities. With the acquiescence of the Governor and Council, they were empowered to lease, sell or dispose of the reservations as they saw fit.¹⁴⁵ A strong appeal for its rejection was again made by the Bishop of the province and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The memorandum of the latter—a voluminous document of more than half a hundred foolscap pages—recapitulates the manner in which the Society acquired its original educational privileges in Nova Scotia and advances its claims to the school lands on the grounds of priority of occupation, expense incurred in their development and uniform tacit acquiescence of Government of the Society's exclusive right to them.¹⁴⁶

As a result of these representations the bill met the same fate at the hands of the Imperial Government as did its predecessor. In view of the similarity of the measure to that of 1839, Lord Grey, in replying, stated his surprise that no explanation had accompanied it indicating the grounds for its presentation. Attorney General Uniacke pointed out that the present bill differed from its predecessor in that it subjected the trustees to the recommendations of the Governor whereas the former bill simply required that the trustees report annually to the General Sessions of the Peace. The principal objection to the bill, as stated in Lord Grey's letter, was that it appeared to give the Lieutenant Governor authority to eject from their trusts trustees of the school lands howsoever appointed, jeopardizing thereby the position of those trustees appointed in connection with the S. P. G. He considered, therefore, that "it would be unjust to take away from the Society, Land on which it had incurred expense for the objects of its intentions; and that the Crown could not be advised

¹⁴⁵*Acts of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1845-1851, c. 19.*

¹⁴⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia, Vol. 438, Doc. 58.*

to be a party to such a proceeding."¹⁴⁷ But since it was the opinion of the imperial authorities that the Crown held all waste lands in the province, Lord Grey went on to say that he was not prepared "to contest the right of the Local Legislature to make such changes as may be thought expedient in the subsisting arrangements with regard to lands still held by the Crown, and upon which no expenditure had been incurred by the Society."¹⁴⁸ This was an important deviation from the attitude the Imperial Government assumed towards the bill of 1839, and, as matters transpired, proved to be a means of overcoming the difficulty.

Following the recall by the S. P. G., about 1834, of its schoolmasters from Nova Scotia, not only the school lands that had never been applied to their intended purpose, but likewise those that had been at one time under occupation passed into the category of "waste lands"; and the Provincial Government, acting on the assumption of an indirect permission accorded in 1850, has from time to time disposed of them as it saw fit.

When the counties of the province were erected into municipalities in 1879, the school lands, in most cases, became vested in the municipality in which they were located. As occasion arose, the Local Government has granted appeals made by those subordinate government units for permission to administer their own school areas. Usually those lands have been appropriated for the purpose of general education. In some municipalities they have been sold or, where retained, let out on lease and the proceeds applied to help along "poor" sections. In some parts of the province they still remain untouched. The Society, no longer having teachers in the province, has in a quiet way renounced its original claim to the school lands and has not attempted to interfere in their settlement under the education laws of the province.

Early Schools of Kings County.—The rapid increase in population attendant upon Governor Lawrence's appeal for settlers in 1759 and 1760 created, in some sections, a correspondingly greater demand for better educational facilities and

¹⁴⁷*Journals of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1851, appendix 9.*

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

more teachers. Kings County was the first in the province to profit by the immigrations. Horton and Cornwallis townships were settled by Connecticut planters in 1759; Falmouth by Rhode Islanders. Others from Massachusetts and New Hampshire joined them soon afterwards. In the four townships that then made up Kings County—Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, and Newport—there were 1,717 inhabitants in 1763. Being intelligent people, many of them were anxious to secure an education for their children.¹⁴⁹

Reporting to Halifax in the year 1763, Reverend Joseph Bennett, missionary to the district, stated that there were 951 children in his constituency for whom teachers were urgently needed. Neither church nor school had yet appeared in this considerable area and as a consequence there was danger of those children growing up in a lamentable state of ignorance.¹⁵⁰ The inhabitants of Horton, the most populous township in the county, in which there were 375 children, had already signified their willingness to co-operate in any effort to provide them with a teacher by starting a subscription among themselves for his support.¹⁵¹ A similar spirit prevailed throughout the other townships. Mr. Bennett, therefore, recommended that two schoolmasters be appointed for the district. The proposal was endorsed by Mr. Belcher and the legislature appropriated twenty pounds for their support.¹⁵² The allowance was too small and Mr. Bennett reluctantly reported the following year that his attempt to get teachers on the small compensation he could offer was ineffectual. He suggested the transfer of the money to Halifax. But three years later, in 1767, Kings County got its first teacher, Mr. Samuel Watts, who had been licensed to teach by Governor Lawrence in 1759. Mr. Watts taught his school at Windsor in the present county of Hants, receiving a stipend

¹⁴⁹Hawkins, Ernest, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies Previous to the Independence of the United States*, London, 1845, p. 363.

¹⁵⁰Hawkins, Ernest, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-364; *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 238.

¹⁵¹*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 266.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 266.

of ten pounds *per annum* from the Society and a supplemental amount from the proprietors.¹⁵³

Another teacher, Mr. Haliburton, also a licentiate of the Society, came to Windsor in 1769. In the same year Mr. Bennett stated that Haliburton had fourteen scholars under his tuition.¹⁵⁴

No further information of schools in the Kings district before 1780 is available. But it is probable that the county enjoyed neighborhood schools prior to this date and that others also existed of which we have no record. Writing in 1771, Mr. Bennett said: "We have got a small Chapel at Windsor which answers for Church for me, for a Meeting-house whenever a Dissenting Minister happens to come that way in my absense, and for a school-house on week days. It was built by subscription of the inhabitants indiscriminately."¹⁵⁵

Early Schools of Annapolis.—After the departure of Watts in 1739 difficulty was experienced in procuring a chaplain for Annapolis. An invitation was extended to a Reverend Mr. Clarke, missionary at Dedham, Massachusetts, to settle in the township but according to Hawkins the engagement was not contracted.¹⁵⁶ In 1763, when Reverend Thomas Wood, traveling missionary to the western districts of the province, visited Annapolis, he found 800 persons there destitute of all religious care. He therefore engaged James Wilkie, a resident of the place, to act as catechist to the inhabitants. Mr. Wilkie also did similar service for the people of the neighboring township of Granville. So successful was he with his school that in 1765 he was granted a license by the Governor and his name placed on the list of S. P. G. teachers for the province.¹⁵⁷ His burdens were lightened the same year by the appointment of John Morrison instructor and catechist for the township of Granville. Morrison, like Wilkie, enjoyed the patronage of the S. P. G. His license was procured the same time as Wilkie's.¹⁵⁸

During the last year of Wood's ministry, Nathaniel Fisher

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 239; Eaton, Arthur W. H., *op. cit.*, p. 334.

¹⁵⁴Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress, etc.*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁵Hawkins, Ernest, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-364.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁵⁷*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, pp. 246, 265.

¹⁵⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 165, p. 386.

was schoolmaster for Annapolis and Granville. As there was for a time after Mr. Wood's death in 1778 no minister stationed in this district Fisher was accustomed to read the prayers and preach on Sunday to the inhabitants of these townships.¹⁶⁰ For this reason we sometimes find him referred to as rector. He was relieved of the religious function by Joshua Wingate Weeks in 1781. Weeks, assisted by a young clergyman named Bailey, was rector of the three townships, Annapolis, Granville and Clements.¹⁶⁰ He was not, however, the first resident clergyman of the district, for Mr. Wood, towards the latter part of his life, was located permanently at Annapolis. Wood's interest in education is indicated by his achievement in producing a grammar and dictionary of the Micmac tongue. In pursuing this work he was greatly assisted by what had previously been accomplished in this direction by the French Catholic priest, M. Maillard.

Schools in Yarmouth and Queens Counties.—In the townships of Queens County, the school lands seem to have remained vacant much longer than did those of Annapolis and Kings. When Liverpool township was surveyed, one share was set apart for the maintenance of a school. The same rule was observed in laying out Yarmouth township. But however numerous may have been private schools, we do not hear of schools being in operation in this section of the province until the arrival in force of the Loyalists during the eighties.

With the exception of Lunenburg and outside of Kings and Annapolis Counties, the same observation is true as regards other districts of Nova Scotia. In 1759, Truro and Onslow began to be settled, and in 1766 these townships with the Londonderry region had, according to Governor Francklin, a combined population of 694.¹⁶¹ Londonderry was settled about 1761 chiefly by Protestant settlers from the north of Ireland brought out by the planter, Alexander McNutt. New Dublin township, contiguous with Chester, was granted to Connecticut proprietors in 1760, but remained practically un-

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 136.

¹⁶⁰Calnek, W. A., *History of the County of Annapolis*, Toronto, William Briggs, 1897, p. 297.

¹⁶¹Murdoch, Beamish, *A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie*, Halifax, James Bowen, Printer and Publisher, 1866, Vol. 2, p. 463.

occupied until regranted to Germans somewhat later. Pictou began to be settled in 1767-1768 and following years by families from Pennsylvania and Maryland.¹⁶² Nothing of educational note, however, was done in these settlements for another decade or more. In other parts of the Province settlement did not begin to any extent until the arrival of the Loyalists. It should be noted, however, that in 1770 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had seven schoolmasters and six missionaries laboring in Nova Scotia.¹⁶³

Schools in Lunenburg.—In Lunenburg, upon retirement of Reverend Mr. Vincent, Mr. Bryzelius was ordained to fill the vacancy. This gentleman was a native of Sweden, and prior to this time had labored as teacher in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. He arrived in Lunenburg in 1767, an appointee of the S. P. G.¹⁶⁴

The government gratuity of twenty pounds per year for the benefit of a German schoolmaster, revoked shortly before Vincent's dismissal, was not renewed. Nevertheless the expense account for Lunenburg returned to the Provincial Government the next year contained an entry of twenty pounds in payment of the services of two schoolmasters. Governor Francklin, although he allowed the appropriation to stand, reminded the administrators of the township that such grant had been discontinued and directed that in future no such expense should be contracted in the name of the province.¹⁶⁵ The teachers for whom this money was intended were likely of German selection.

The Germans did not take kindly to Mr. Bryzelius. When his successor, Reverend Peter De La Roche, arrived in 1771 they gave expression to their displeasure by separating themselves from the congregation and erecting a house of worship of their own.¹⁶⁶ De La Roche, nevertheless, succeeded in prevailing upon the people of his mission, in 1773, to build a school-house for the French and assist them in the support of

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 510.

¹⁶³Hawkins, Ernest, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 1.

¹⁶⁴Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress, etc.*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁵*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 136.

¹⁶⁶Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress, etc.*, p. 19.

their schoolmaster, Reverend Mr. Baily. Their contribution, Hawkins informs us, consisted of forty bushels of grain and twenty-four cords of wood.¹⁶⁷

The success attending De La Roche's efforts was a source of satisfaction to the administrators. Receding from its former aloofness the Government offered to give "any allowance or assistance in its power as soon as a person well qualified should be found to teach the English language" and in every other respect proper.¹⁶⁸ The school lands that had lain unoccupied since Vincent's departure were also transferred to the new schoolmaster.

These arrangements led to the renewal of Neuman's license in 1782 and the appointment of Francis Rudolf in the same year to teach an elementary school at Lunenburg. In 1785, a teacher in harmony with their wishes was secured for the people of Lunenburg. He was John Philip Aulenbach, a native of Hanover, who had come to Shelburne with the New England immigrants in 1783. The Germans engaged him to teach in the parochial school and to lead the singing in the Lutheran Church.¹⁶⁹ During a prolonged illness of pastor Schmeisser, Mr. Aulenbach officiated in holding public divine service, read services over the dead and gave catechetical lectures in the Lutheran church. He did lengthy service to the people of Lunenburg, retaining his post in the parochial school until his death in 1820.¹⁷⁰

Schools in Halifax.—In Halifax, the Orphan School suffered a period of deterioration owing principally to the incompetent management of Mr. Sharrock's successor, Buchanan. He was dismissed from service in 1762 for not being able to account for the adverse financial standing of the school.¹⁷¹ But a multiplication of private schools provided for the educational needs of the children of the Capital.

In the issue of the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* for October 10-17, 1769, there appears the following advertisement:

¹⁶⁷Hawkins, Ernest, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

¹⁶⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 136.

¹⁶⁹Roth, Luther D., *op. cit.*, p. 363.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹⁷¹*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 230.

At the House of Mr. Lewis Beloud
There is to commence immediately

NIGHT SCHOOL

Where Youth will be carefully taught & instructed in Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, and the principal Branches of the Mathematics, together with Book-keeping in all its Parts, according to the most approv'd Method now in Use; Any who are inclined to learn the chief or particular Branch of the aforesaid, may expect it on the most reasonable Terms; and their Favours gratefully acknowledged by

L. BELOUD.

N. B. Any Gentleman or Lady, who chooses to learn French or Dancing shall be attended on, in Schooll or private Hours.¹⁷²

On the first of November, 1774, Robert M'Gowan, through the columns of the *Chronicle and Advertiser*, gave notice to "young Gentlemen apprentices and others of this town" that he intended "beginning to keep Evening School, upon Tuesday night 1st of November from six to eight" where he would teach writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping. He solicited the attendance of "such young gentlemen as incline to spend the evening for their improvement in any of these branches."¹⁷³

James Tanswell, who came to Halifax in 1774, opened a private school in town the following year. His advertisement in the *Nova Scotia Gazette, and Weekly Chronicle* on August 15, 1775, reads: "School will be opened To-morrow morning as usual, Tanswell."¹⁷⁴

Samuel Scott started an evening school in Halifax in 1779 offering instruction in writing, bookkeeping, mensuration, land surveying, gauging, navigation, dialing, architecture, etc. The school was advertised to begin on October 25th and to continue throughout the winter. Hours of study were from six to nine every evening.¹⁷⁵ Another school, to teach the pri-

¹⁷²*Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, October 10-17, 1769, Vol. 1, No. 42.

¹⁷³*The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, November 1, 1775, Vol. 5, No. 1.

¹⁷⁴*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 301, Doc. 18.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, October 19, 1779.

mary branches, was opened in Halifax the following year by Samuel Gray.¹⁷⁶

It seems evident that the work of those private schools was supplemented to a considerable extent by instruction given at home under parental direction. Among the more intellectual element of the population indications are that this practice was very prevalent. We read in the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* of date November 2, 1779, that on the next evening a lecture would be delivered at Mr. Willis' assembly room, a leading feature of which would be an exposition "of the method of Teaching young children to read both Prose and Verse." The announcement states further that the lecture would be illustrated by readings from Shakespeare, Pope and Addison. That a commercial enterprise should hope to obtain a paying audience by appealing to the pedagogical and literary tastes of the Halifax public seems to be a fair indication of a diffused interest in education among the people of the Capital.

The Itinerant Teacher.—The prototype of the Halifax private schoolmaster throughout the sparsely settled districts of the province was, in those days, the itinerant schoolmaster. His appearance was consequent on the enhanced need for teachers after the immigrations of 1760 and following years and the inability of the S. P. G. teachers to meet all educational demands of the settlers.

He was a quaint figure, this traveling schoolmaster, in the social life of early pioneer days. Fortified with a fund of knowledge that often did not transcend the limits of the three R's he wandered from village to village and from house to house instructing for his keep or a small fee. His meager store of knowledge he supplemented by an inexhaustible fund of fable and witticisms committed to memory for the delectation of his pupils or the entertainment of his host by the fireside at night. On account of his congenial companionship he usually made his presence in the village very agreeable.

Thomas C. Haliburton, in the *Clockmaker*, has immortalized the memory of this odd character, the traveling teacher. He introduces him to us carrying a small bundle in his hand tied

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, September 26, 1779.

up in a dirty silk pocket handkerchief and dressed in an old suit of rusty black. His appearance was, moreover, frequently marred by traces of the evil effects of an inordinate use of intoxicating liquors. And still if his appearance and conduct were not always such as would pass modern scrutiny as edifying to the classroom, he, nevertheless, possessed a sort of pioneer roughness, a rude sincerity, that reflected hardihood, not unsuited to the times, on the children he taught. "Grim and rough as he was, there were streaks of kindness in his heart if you could ever strike them." And if his knowledge was not encyclopedic, he at least knew how to impart effectively the information he possessed.

The traveling schoolmaster had an individual system of pedagogics—the fruit of personal experience. The instruments of teaching he usually supplied himself. Books were scarce but Bibles and religious tracts carefully harbored by some literary family in the community were frequently borrowed for reading. For writing, almost anything susceptible to the imprint of a pencil might be requisitioned for use in the classroom. Haphazard as was his teaching the influence of the itinerant teacher was not without its merit in days when schools were few and an education hard to get.

The School Law of 1766.—The school conducted by the freelance itinerant teacher enjoyed, of course, no legal recognition and consequently received no encouragement from Government or the S. P. G. As a matter of fact, those schoolmasters were regarded with no little amount of suspicion and disfavor both by the administration and the Society. The latter, especially, looked upon their activities as open infringement on a right reserved for its schoolmasters alone.

Moreover, when the need for teachers was acute, zealous parents did not stop to challenge the religious views of the traveling teacher before entrusting their children to him for instruction. This was a matter prejudicial to the stated school policy of the province. It was, to a large extent, to check this custom and to curtail the freedom the itinerant teacher enjoyed that the school law of 1766 was enacted. The ostensible intent of the school legislation of that year was to re-assert the lawful control of educational activities in Nova

Scotia by the S. P. G., as a law of 1758 had proclaimed the Church of England the legal religious form of worship within the province.

Jonathan Belcher, writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1763, deeply deplored the rejection, by the Local Assembly, of a measure "to restrain the means of instruction and the institution of schools" and the unfortunate passing of a bill "vesting in nominees of freeholders powers belonging to parish churches and vesteries."¹⁷⁷ He was apprehensive lest some harm should result from undue exercise of discretionary powers in the selection of teachers.¹⁷⁸ He recommended to the Society that it make rigorous and immediate effort to send schoolmasters to those districts in the province in which no representative teachers were located.

Failing to secure a repeal of this measure, Mr. Belcher, on June 10, 1766, introduced a bill into the Council for the "Establishment, Regulation and Support of Schools." It was submitted immediately to its first and second reading but, because of its importance, the Council resolved itself into a committee of the whole board to consider its provisions. The report being heard, the bill was engrossed with some amendments. It underwent further modification at the hands of the Assembly. In these, the Council refused to concur. To avoid its complete rejection, a conference committee was appointed by both branches of the Legislature and a compromise reached. The bill received the Governor's assent on July 5, 1766.

The first clause of section one of the act provided for the licensing of grammar school teachers throughout the province. It did not attempt to specify the necessary scholastic requirements of the applicant but it stated the manner in which such a license was to be secured, leaving it to the judgment of the issuing parties to decide when the candidate possessed eligible qualifications. Obviously its design was to abolish the system of indifferent teaching practiced in the outlying settlements by unauthorized teachers. The license thus secured was of local application and could be obtained by submitting

¹⁷⁷*Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 248.*

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*

to an examination by the parish minister or, in his absence, by two justices of the peace who made the necessary recommendation to the Governor. Ratification by the latter was necessary before a license became valid. The whole of this clause is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Commander-in-Chief, and Assembly, that no person shall hereafter set up or keep a grammar school within this Province, till he shall first have been examined by the minister of such town wherein he proposes to keep such grammar school, as to the qualifications for the instruction of children in such schools; and where no minister shall be settled, such examination shall be made by two Justices of the Peace, for the county, together with a certificate from at least six of the inhabitants of such town, of the morals and good conduct of such schoolmaster, which shall be transmitted to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, for obtaining a license as by His Majesty's royal instruction directed.¹⁷⁹

The succeeding clause of the same section had particular reference to the schools of Halifax. It stipulated:

That no person shall set up or keep a school for instruction of youth in reading, writing, or arithmetic, within the township of Halifax, without such examination, certificate and license, or in any other manner than is before directed; and every such schoolmaster who shall set up or keep a school contrary to this Act, shall for every offence, forfeit the sum of three pounds, upon conviction before two Justices of the Peace of the county where such person shall so offend, to be levied by warrant of distress, and applied for the use of the school of the town where such offence shall be committed.

Nowhere in the act is intimation given as to what class of institution is alluded to by the designation "grammar school." But, since prior to the opening of the grammar school at Halifax in 1789, there existed nowhere in the province an educational institution approximating our conception of a grammar school, we might reasonably suppose that the framers of the law had in mind, when they drafted this clause of the act, the schools of the province generally; while the additional clause, covering in an especial manner the schools

¹⁷⁹*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, c. 7, Sec. 1.

of Halifax, was in their view designed to regulate the management of the several private schools of the Capital.

Section 2 of the act provided that :

No person shall presume to enter upon the said office of schoolmaster until he shall have taken the oaths appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the declaration openly in some of His Majesty's courts, or as shall be directed by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and if any popish recusant, papist, or person professing the popish religion, shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within this Province, and be detected therein, such offender shall, for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds, and if any one shall refuse to take the said oaths and subscribe the declaration, he shall be deemed and taken to be a popish recusant for the purposes so before mentioned.

This section in combination with the preceding one discloses evidence of the intention of the law to confine the privilege of teaching in the province to adherents of the Established Church alone. Although the express disabilities it inflicted on Catholics disguised, in a measure, this purpose, subsequent developments revealed the true nature of its provisions.

Section 3 reaffirmed the land grants for school purposes and made provision for their administration by trustees.

And whereas his Majesty has been pleased to order that four hundred acres of land in each township, shall be granted to and for the use and support of schools, be it enacted, That said quantity of lands shall be vested in trustees for said purpose, and such trustees shall be and are hereby enabled to sue and defend for and on behalf of such schools, and to improve all such lands as shall be most for the advantage and benefit thereof.

The merits of the law as a whole were not exceptional. It did, by the license regulations it imposed, attempt to give a semblance of uniformity to our schools and it helped to protect children from any deleterious influences to which they might have been exposed by the teaching of free-lance schoolmasters. But its terms were more negative than positive. It

tended to deprive settlements of teachers of their own choice and it made little or no provision to replace them by duly qualified ones. If it did not impede educational progress it can scarcely be credited with having accelerated the free development of schools in the province. With the exception of the clauses of the excise law of 1794, which provided financial assistance for schools by imposing an additional tax of three pence per gallon on all light wines entering the ports of the province, it was, however, the only school law of general application to the province passed by the local legislature in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁰

Licensing of Schoolmasters.—The sections of the school law of 1766 dealing with the licensing of schoolmasters, which is the principal feature of the act, were promulgated in accordance with the royal instructions addressed from time to time to the governors of the province. A special order issued to Governor Phillips in the year 1729 directed him to apply to the province the school regulations then in force in His Majesty's colony of Virginia.¹⁸¹ These in part decreed that "no schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from this kingdom (Great Britain) to keep school in that Our said Colony without the license of the said Lord Bishop of London; and that no other person now there or that shall come from other parts shall be admitted to keep school in Virginia without your license first obtained."¹⁸² Identical instructions were given Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia in 1764.¹⁸³

The first license issued to a schoolmaster in Nova Scotia is entered in the Governor's Commission Book for the year 1759. The Reverend John Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, having by authority of the Governor's warrant examined certain applicants for teachers' permits, reported on September 6th of that year to Secretary Bulkeley as follows:

SIR :

In Obedience to His Excellency the Governor's Directions to me, signified by warrant dated the 3rd Instant, I have en-

¹⁸⁰*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1794.*

¹⁸¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia, Vol. 348, Doc. 3.*

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, Vol. 348, Doc. 4.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, Vol. 249, Doc. 9.

quired and strictly examined into the Life & Conduct and other requisite Qualifications of Daniel Shatford, Lewis Beloud, and Samuel Watts to keep Schools in this Province; You will therefore be pleased to lay before His Excellency the following report.—

Daniel Shatford was born in Gloucester Shire and brought up in the Church of England and now declares himself of that persuasion. He received a School Education under his Father a professed Schoolmaster and was himself licensed for the same Occupation by the Bishop of Gloucester. Since his arrival in America he instructed Youth with Success and Reputation in New York in several Branches of useful Knowledge. Upon the Strictest Enquiry, I find him well qualified to teach Grammar and the lower Latin Classes, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping and Navigation.

Lewis Beloud, a native of the Canton of Berne in Switzerland was bred a Protestant as appears by his Credentials. He and his wife may be very useful in teaching Children to read English or French.

Samuel Watts was born in London, brought up a Protestant Dissenter and professes himself such now. He formerly taught School among Several English Families settled at Esequibo under the Dutch Government, but lost his Testimonials by a Shipwreck. I find him capable of teaching English, Writing and Arithmetic.

I am with all due esteem

Sir,
Your Most Obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) JOHN BREYNTON.

Halifax

6 Sept. 1759,

To Richard Bulkeley Esq
Secretary.¹⁷⁸⁴

In consequence of these recommendations the several parties were licensed by the Governor. Below is given the form of Mr. Shatford's certificate which became a type for subsequent permits of this kind:

By His Excellency Chas. Lawrence,
Esquire & &

License is hereby granted to Daniel Shatford to keep a School at Halifax for teaching Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Navigation, English and Latin, he appearing qualified and having taken the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy and Abjuration This License to continue during good behavior.

¹⁷⁸⁴Public Records of Nova Scotia, Vol. 165, pp. 3-4.

Given under my Hand & seal at Halifax
this Eighth day of September 1759.

(Signed) CHAS. LAWRENCE.

By His Excellency's Command

RICHARD BULKELEY, *Secy*

MR. DANIEL SHATFORD, Schoolmaster.¹⁸⁵

Mr. Beloud and Mr. Watts were given permission to keep school in Halifax also, the former to teach English and French, the latter English, writing and arithmetic. No express mention is made in Beloud's commission that his wife received authority to assist him in his work. But from the nature of Dr. Breynton's recommendation we might infer that she secured, at least, an implicit permission to do so. If this supposition is correct, Mrs. Beloud was, so far as records show, the first woman to obtain official permission to teach in Nova Scotia after the conquest.

As we have noted elsewhere, Mr. Shatford kept school in Halifax until his death in 1774. Mr. Beloud, according to an advertisement in the *Weekly Advertiser* of Halifax in 1769, appears by this time to have acquired the privilege of teaching several subjects in addition to those enumerated in his license cited above. The name of Mr. Watts appears in the state papers of 1767 as recently appointed schoolmaster to Windsor.

In the Governor's Commission Book, also for the year 1759, is recorded a letter written by Mr. Bulkeley to Dr. Breynton requesting him to examine into the qualifications of Mr. John Walker who had made application for permission to keep school.¹⁸⁶ Dr. Breynton finding him qualified to teach reading, writing and common arithmetic, a license was granted him for this purpose. The next license recorded is that of Gotlieb Neuman to keep an English school at Lunenburg in 1760.¹⁸⁷ There, as we have seen, Neuman became assistant to the Reverend Mr. Vincent. Another license was granted in 1762 to James Juan to keep a school in Halifax for teaching Latin, French, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping during good behavior.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 79.

We read in the Commission Book for 1765 record of the license granted John Morrison to teach writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, navigation, English and Latin. His license, procured on submission to the usual oaths, was to continue during pleasure. On the same date a similar license was procured for James Wilkie. Both these gentlemen kept school in Annapolis County where they were pioneers in their profession.¹⁸⁸

The last teachers' certificate issued under the old policy was that of William Lynch dated March 31, 1766, bestowing on him authority to teach a classical school at Halifax;¹⁸⁹ and the first granted according to the provisions of the law of 1766 was Mr. Joshua Tufts'. Another was granted Edward Broadfield in November, 1768, to teach an elementary school in Halifax followed by a license for Henry Foster in 1772 to open a school in the same place.¹⁹⁰ Elias Jones secured permission to establish a classical school in Halifax in 1770.¹⁹¹ A purely mathematical school was started by Joseph Peters in Halifax in 1773. The course Peters' school offered comprised "Practical Geometry, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, Trigonometry and the Art of Navigation."¹⁹² Mr. Robert M'Gowan, who conducted an evening school in Halifax in 1774, procured his license from the Governor that same year.

The Commission Book gives record of three certificates to teach in Halifax in 1777: To James Tanswell to conduct a school chiefly classical, to Samuel Gray to teach an elementary school, and to John Wenamor to keep a school of the same standard.¹⁹³ Among the subjects enumerated in Mr. Tanswell's program we find mentioned, logic, geography and the use of the globes. An equal number of permits were issued the following year the recipients being Samuel Scott, Joseph Hastings and James Done. The next entry is for the year 1784 when John Leslie and Jacob Foreman were commissioned to teach in Halifax. Then come the licenses of 1786

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 386.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 170, p. 3.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, pp. 233-234.

to George Grant, James Fullerton and George Glynne. Fullerton's license bears the clause "this license to continue during good behavior and not teaching any religious doctrines."¹⁹⁴ It was renewed in 1790 when Fullerton was made S. P. G. teacher at Horton. Glynne is perhaps the man who Patterson says taught in Pictou County about the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁵

With the erection of Nova Scotia into a bishopric of the Anglican Church in 1787, a slight change was made in the manner of granting the teachers' license. The certificate which up to this time required the assent of the Lord Bishop of London was henceforth to be rendered valid when approved by the Bishop of the province. In the case of non-conformist teachers, however, the seal of the province was sufficient from now on to give the certificate legality. The royal instructions to the Governor of the province on the subject were as follows:

It is Our Will and Pleasure that no person shall be allowed to keep a School in the Province under your Government, without your License first had & obtained.

In granting which you are to pay the most particular attention to the Morals and proper Qualifications of the Persons applying for the same, and in all Cases where the School has been founded, instituted or appointed for the Education of Members of the Church of England or where it is intended that the School-Master should be a Member of the Church of England, you are not to grant such Licenses except to Persons who shall first have obtained from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or one of his Commissioners, a Certificate of their being properly qualified for that Purpose.¹⁹⁶

Development of the Province.—Before the end of this period considerable accessions had been made to the population of Nova Scotia by the arrival of numerous refugees from the Old Colonies and Scots from Scotland. Wherever those people settled they remained, in a measure, isolated. The principal means of communication between even the most populous settlements was still by water, when the village happened to be

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵Patterson, Reverend George, *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia*, Montreal, 1877, p. 157.

¹⁹⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 172, p. 1; Vol. 349, Doc. 37.

by the seashore or on the banks of a navigable stream. In the interior sections intercourse was had by means of blazed paths through the forest. It was reported to the Board of Trade in 1768 that the population of the province was about 15,000. The inhabitants were settled in communities "extremely dispersed and extended" and communication between them was "greatly interrupted by water and almost impassable woods and roads."¹⁹⁷

A road was begun from Halifax to Sackville in 1769.¹⁹⁸ The following year a lottery was started to raise money to develop a highway system for the province. The first regular post between Halifax and Annapolis was started in the summer of 1785, a courier making the distance between the two places once a fortnight.¹⁹⁹ The next year commissioners were appointed by the Governor to supervise the construction of roads between the principal settlements in the province. Work was begun in this year on the highway between Halifax and Rawden-Douglas.

The difficulty of securing an education under circumstances so unfavorable may be readily imagined. The most efficient schools in the province were as yet of mediocre standard even in the most populous districts and they stood long distances apart, separated by stretches of virgin forest traversed by an occasional road or path. To reach them enterprising pupils sometimes made long and difficult journeys on horseback. Efforts of this kind, indicative of the high regard our ancestors had for learning, become more conspicuous towards the latter part of this period as the land began to be settled by men of a scholarly type of mind.

Until the end of the century, however, there must have been people in sparsely settled districts of the province as yet entirely unacquainted with the methods of schools. They had, as patron of learning, the traveling schoolmaster, conspicuous still by his oddity and urbanity. Though the school law of 1766 challenged his authority to teach, prevailing conditions saved him from extinction for many years yet.

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. 43, Doc. 37.

¹⁹⁸*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, pp. 296, 298.

¹⁹⁹Akins, Thomas B., *History of Halifax*, Publications of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1895, Vol. 8, p. 89.

As the enactment of that year made no attempt to provide a permanent fund for teachers these continued to be dependent for support on pupils' fees and yearly grants by Government. The latter amounted in 1777 to 440 pounds, renewed by annual appropriations until the end of the century.²⁰⁰ While in the beginning this sum might have been sufficient, it became very inadequate as settlement progressed. Though it seems likely that there were individuals in the province possessed of the requisite qualifications to make efficient teachers, the remuneration offered was "too miserably insufficient" to attract them to the service. With the support they enjoyed from abroad, the S. P. G. schoolmasters were much better situated than their competitors, but at no time did they become numerous enough to equal the demand. In 1787, their number in Nova Scotia had dwindled to five.²⁰¹ Some years later we find three of them stationed at convenient points along the eastern shore of the province.²⁰² A royal order in 1787, translating to the Governor and Bishop authority to grant teachers' licenses, brought the schools of the province more directly under local control; and it was not until about this time, when the Loyalists were well established, that education in Nova Scotia really began to progress.

²⁰⁰*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 344, Doc. 4.

²⁰¹Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress*, etc., pp. 38-39.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 29.

CHAPTER IV

A PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION

1780—1811

Establishment of the Halifax Grammar School.—As an educational institution the Halifax private school had its limitations. A most apparent shortcoming lay in the management of its classes.

For continued existence the private school was dependent on revenue accruing from pupils' fees alone. Every child in attendance was required to pay an individual fee for instruction. This had the effect of limiting the activities of the school and confining its patronage to but a small proportion of the whole population of the town. Usually the tuition rates varied with the number of scholars in attendance, but generally they were beyond the means of a great many children. This was especially true in the case of large families where parents, no matter how desirous, would find it difficult to provide for the education of all their children when the instruction for each one had to be paid for individually. On the other hand negligent parents, though they had the means, were not always so enthusiastic about the education of their children as to feel impelled to make the outlay necessary to send them to private schools. As a result a great many children were being allowed to grow up in Halifax destitute of even an elementary education, to suffer those evils attending an insufficient educational discipline.

Mr. Tanswell, teacher in Halifax in 1777, called attention to the unsatisfactory educational conditions prevailing in the Capital. He pointed out to the House of Assembly that in default of that body's taking the initiative in providing a capable school, "immorality and vice were daily increasing among our youth, the fatal consequences of which ought to make every parent tremble and every well disposed person contribute his aid towards stemming so pernicious a torrent."²⁰⁸ He expressed the belief that "a public school prop-

²⁰⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 301, Doc. 18.

erly established would be the means and only means of promoting an universal decorum, learning and virtue."

The school lands that had been reserved for educational purposes in the township of Halifax, unlike those in the settled portions of the outlying districts of the province, were allowed to remain in their original state of non-cultivation for many years. In 1775, Governor Legge called the attention of the Secretary of State to this circumstance. His communication to the Imperial Government stated:

There has been lands within the Town of Halifax, which have been set apart and promised by a former Governor for a Public Grammar School. His Majesty's former instructions ordered four hundred acres to be granted for that use, but it has not been carried into execution. As the inhabitants have many likely children to bring up who will be serviceable to the Public, I think such an appropriation of the public lands will greatly promote the Establishment of a School, and they may be granted out of lands in the neighborhood of the Town now vacant and others liable to forfeiture had I orders for so doing.²⁰⁴

The 13th session of the 5th General Assembly, that met in 1780, took up the consideration of these proposals. In October of that year, a motion was made before the Assembly by Mr. Shaw "that the House do take into consideration the establishing of a Public School in such part of the Province as shall be thought most proper."²⁰⁵ This motion led to the appointment of a committee consisting of Mr. Brenton, Attorney-General, Mr. Newton, Colonel Tonge, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Cochran to consider the feasibility of the recommendations. In its report, returned to the House, the Committee signified its approval of Mr. Shaw's resolution and recommended a legislative appropriation for the erection of a public school at Halifax with an additional allowance to pay the salary of a competent teacher. The bill framed by the committee was as follows:

Whereas every public attention to the education of youth is of the utmost importance in Society, and whereas it is impracticable to procure a person sufficiently qualified for that

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 44, Doc. 74.

²⁰⁵Murdoch, Beamish, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 609.

purpose, without making handsome and liberal provision, for his easy support and maintenance:

Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Assembly That a sum not exceeding fifteen hundred pounds, be granted for the purpose of erecting a proper and convenient building in the town of Halifax, for keeping a public School, which sum shall be raised in manner hereafter to be directed by the General Assembly.

And be it also enacted, That a sum not exceeding one hundred pounds be annually granted in the estimate for the expenses of government for the support of a Schoolmaster, and when the number of scholars shall exceed forty, that a further allowance of fifty Pounds, yearly be included in the said estimate for the assistance of the said master in the support of an usher, which the said master shall in that case provide.²⁰⁶

The measure, having passed its third reading in the House on October 28th, was submitted to the Council on the same date for concurrence. It was accompanied by a bill providing for the raising of 1,500 pounds by lottery to defray the cost of erecting the schoolbuilding. Clauses were also incorporated in the latter making for the appropriation of one hundred pounds annually to pay for a principal and fifty pounds for an usher or assistant when the number of pupils in attendance exceeded fifty.²⁰⁷ Both bills were favorably commented on by the Council. The only improvement that body advised was that the drawing of the lottery be divided into two parts.²⁰⁸

The wisdom of the device of raising money for public purposes by the institution of a lottery was questionable. It was regarded as tending to detract the attention of government officials from "a spirit of industry and attention to their proper callings," and of providing a ready means for dishonest persons to perpetrate frauds and abuses. The first instance of its being used in Nova Scotia was in 1759, when money was procured in that way for building a market in Halifax. In 1769, Governor Campbell received instructions

²⁰⁶*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1780.*

²⁰⁷*Journals of the Proceedings of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1780.*

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*

The Minutes of the Council for this year state that the bills passed under the hand of the Governor on October 16.

not to give his assent to any act for raising money by public lottery before transmitting a draft of the measure to the sovereign.²⁰⁹ When, therefore, in the following year an act was passed by the local Legislature to raise one thousand pounds by lottery for building roads in the province, Governor Campbell, in conformity with these instructions, reserved his assent to the measure pending receipt of the royal directions. The Lords of Trade on that occasion recommended its endorsement on the grounds of expediency though they saw "objections to the principle."²¹⁰

Administrator Hughes, to whom the school bill of 1780 came for endorsement, observed the precedent established by his predecessor and forwarded it to the Lords of Trade. Their representations secured for it the royal signature. A committee to manage the lottery was therefore appointed by Governor Hammond in September of the same year. Its personnel consisted of Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, James Brenton, John Cunningham and Charles Morris, junior.²¹¹ Acting on the recommendation of the Council the board divided the lottery into two classes. The first class was of five thousand tickets at twenty shillings each for which prizes amounting to four thousand two hundred and fifty pounds were assigned. This would leave a net surplus of seven hundred and fifty pounds to be applied to the school.²¹² The second part was calculated to realize a like amount.

The lottery scheme was not a success. On November 10, 1784, Mr. Pyke, on the floor of the House, charged the lottery commissioners with incompetency and neglect in the conduct of its management. A resolution was concurred in by the popular body to summon the members of the commission before its next session "to account for their conduct."²¹³

Three years later it was revealed during the course of an investigation that only a trifle more than five hundred and fourteen pounds had so far been collected. In the face of impending failure, it was proposed that, until something more

²⁰⁹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 349, Dec. 19.

²¹⁰*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, pp. 301, 303.

²¹¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 169, Dec. 3.

²¹²Murdoch, Beamish, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 619.

²¹³*Journals of the Proceedings of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly*, 1784; *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 223, Dec. 17.

satisfactory could be arranged, a section of the Orphan School should be acquired as a classroom. This idea had to be abandoned for reasons stated in a letter addressed to the magistrates of the town in April, 1785, by the trustees of the institution. On inspection of the deed by which the property was made over to them they found its use was "strictly confined to the residence and habitation of orphan children, whereby they were wholly debarred from suffering the use of it to any other purpose."²¹⁴

Four years afterwards, however, the school was established. The opening session was held in the meeting room of the Assembly. On the 16th of June, 1789, the Governor nominated the Honorable Henry Newton, who had played so important a part in procuring the school, Honorable Thomas Cochran, James Brenton, John Newton and Richard John Uniacke, trustees. William Cochran, of Trinity College, Dublin, late Professor of Classical Languages in Columbia University, New York, was made master and George Glennie, educated at the University of Aberdeen, and Thomas Brown were appointed assistants. When, in 1790, Mr. Cochran accepted the position of headmaster of the Academy at Windsor, the vacancy in the Halifax school was filled by the appointment of Reverend George Wright. His salary was one hundred and fifty pounds per year in addition to receipts from pupils' fees. Mr. Wright had prior to this time taught school in the vicinity of New York, coming to Halifax, on invitation, to take charge of the grammar school in May, 1790. He had never less than forty-two pupils in attendance during the first year of office, and, in 1793, he reported the average attendance to be considerably in excess of sixty-eight.²¹⁵

In 1794, when it was found necessary to enact new legislation to provide for the salaries of the master and assistant, an additional impost duty of three pence per gallon on all light wines imported into Halifax was levied. The money arising from this source was to be paid into the Provincial Treasury for the use of the school.²¹⁶ While this part of the

²¹⁴*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 137, Doc. 9.

²¹⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. 411, Doc. 29.

²¹⁶*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1794.

act rendered it merely of local significance, a wider application was given it by a subsequent clause decreeing that a similar tax be laid on all spirituous liquors entering any port of the province, the proceeds to go into the country treasury to constitute a fund to help along schools. In the case of the Grammar School, if the amount collected in the port of Halifax was in excess of the school allotment the surplus was to be devoted to the support of the poor of the town; whereas if it fell short of meeting the grant, the deficiency was to be supplied from the revenue arising from permits issued to license houses.

Under the direction of capable trustees, the Grammar School became a wholesome factor for educational improvement in the Capital. Its establishment had a subordinate effect on primary education generally throughout the province, for the legislation that brought it into existence conceived the idea of a public school system conducted under state supervision. Along with King's College, the Grammar School was, for many years, the only effective school in Nova Scotia.

The Founding of King's College.—The year prior to the opening of the Halifax Grammar School, an institution of similar educational standard was founded in King's County. This was Horton Academy, the original of the present University of King's College.

An agitation to establish a seminary for higher learning in connection with the Church of England in Nova Scotia was begun by the congregation of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, as early as 1764. The movement was intensified by the immigrations from New England. The matter was eventually taken up by the local Government which, in 1768, submitted a plan to the Lords of Trade to establish a collegiate school at some convenient point in the province for the purpose of educating a native clergy.²¹⁷ The project met with the approval of the Board which in turn transmitted it to the S. P. G. for its consideration. At the request of the latter a committee of correspondence on the subject was appointed in Halifax. In 1769, the committee advised the Society that it

²¹⁷ *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 12, pp. 72-73.

had selected Windsor as the most promising location for the institution seeing that it afforded the necessary quiet and seclusion for study. It also suggested that the allowance for S. P. G. schoolmasters in the province be withdrawn and the money devoted to the support of the proposed seminary.²¹⁸

Active though the interest seems to have been in the project, it failed for well nigh a score of years to advance beyond the discussion stage. Official opinion meanwhile seems to have unanimously favored the proposal. Had the necessary funds been available, it is probable the foundation of the institution would have been laid forthwith. As it was, however, no progress was effected until 1787, when urgent educational needs revived the issue. Nova Scotia being in that year erected into a bishopric of the Anglican Church, the correspondence committee at Halifax embraced the opportunity to address an appeal to the local Government in behalf of the institution. This document, a part of which follows, is of interest to us as epitomizing the state of education in Nova Scotia at this time:

The Committee in Deliberating upon this subject having duly considered and lamented the wretched State of Literature in this Province, and having been unavoidably led to contrast it with the State of Literature in the Neighboring Republics, beg leave earnestly to recommend to the consideration of this House, whether it would not be proper, as soon as it can be found practicable, to erect a College or University in this Province, to prevent as early as may be, the Youth of this Country (now panting after Knowledge) from rushing into the various Seminaries, already established in the United States of America, by which means their attachment to their native Country may be in Danger of being weakened, and principles imbued unfriendly to the British Constitution.²¹⁹

This forceful presentation of the situation awakened the interest of Governor Parr who recommended to the Assembly the advisability of establishing a public fund to provide for the erection and maintenance of the school.²²⁰ As a result,

²¹⁸ Akins, Thomas, *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress, etc.*, p. 42.

²¹⁹ *Journals of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1787.*

²²⁰ Halliburton, Thomas C., *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1829, Vol. 1, p. 268.*

before the session closed a resolution had been adopted to establish the academy. At the sitting of the next parliament in 1788 the sum of four hundred pounds was voted to hire a house for holding classes and to pay the salary of a teacher for one year.

On the first of November, 1788, the school opened with two departments. In the upper department the fees were four pounds per year and in the English or lower department, three pounds.²²¹ The next year, which was the same year that the Grammar School at Halifax began its sessions in the old Assembly rooms, the act of incorporation for King's was secured.²²² For its support, an annual grant of four hundred pounds sterling was provided, the amount to be raised by duties on brown and loaf or refined sugar.²²³ In addition to this annual endowment, a lump sum of five hundred pounds was voted for the purchase of a suitable building and grounds for the institution. Supplemental amounts were voted from year to year. By 1795, three thousand pounds had been expended on the buildings but fifteen hundred pounds more were required.²²⁴ The student enrollment was then about thirty.

The College, according to intention, was established as a purely Church of England institution. Under the terms of incorporation the governors were to be members of the Established Church with the privilege of exercising wide discretionary powers in the framing of ordinances and regulations for its management.

In 1802, a royal charter of establishment was procured for the institution and its funds increased by an Imperial grant of one thousand pounds a year. A special committee drew up a new set of rules for the government of the college. Among them was the stern requirement that all prospective pupils subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of faith of the Church of England before being admitted to the university classes.²²⁵ As the communicants of the Anglican Church in

²²¹ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 457.

²²² *Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1789.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 511.

²²⁵ Allison, David, *History of Nova Scotia*, Halifax, A. W. Bowen Company, 1916, Vol. 2, p. 812.

Nova Scotia at that time did not comprise more than one third of the whole population of the province, this imposition had the effect of limiting the field of activity of the institution and confining its usefulness to a minor though influential section of the inhabitants.

Lord Dalhousie, during his administration of the province, endeavored to break down the restrictive attitude of King's. He proposed that the religious test as a requirement for matriculation into the university be abolished or, as an alternative, that an amalgamation of educational interests be effected free from sectarian influences. His efforts were unsuccessful. The only alternative remaining to Dalhousie then was to erect an institution that would afford facilities for higher studies to all the people of the province irrespective of religious creed.

On the 22d of May, 1820, he laid the foundation stone of that well known educational institution at Halifax that now bears his name. On that occasion, in his dedicatory speech, the Governor proclaimed it his purpose to provide for "the education of youth in the higher classics and in all philosophical studies. Its doors," he declared, "will be open to all who profess the Christian religion. It is particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor."²²⁶

The Loyalists.—By the time that those institutions for more advanced studies had been established at Halifax and Windsor, the whole educational aspect of the province had undergone a marked change from what it had been a score of years before. The increase in the number of schools in operation was perhaps not large, but there was rife throughout the province a new taste for learning, especially in those localities recently settled by Loyalists from the Old Colonies. In an immediate and particular way the immigration of those people into Nova Scotia affected its social, political, and educational life.

The Loyalists were a race of ready-made scholars. In the Old Colonies they had enjoyed educational facilities far in advance of those obtaining in Nova Scotia. Among those who came were lawyers, judges, clergymen, soldiers and men who

²²⁶ Murdoch, Beamish, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 455.

had in one way or another attained to honors in their old homes. They came in such numbers—perhaps 30,000 in all, doubling the population of the province in a year or two—that, instead of modifying their tastes before the demands of their new surroundings, they were able to use whatever circumstances they found themselves in and transform into their liking the social and civil life they found around them.²²⁷

Their condition on arrival was wretched. Governor Parr said of a band of Loyalists who arrived from St. Augustine in the fall of 1784, “the poorest and most distressed of all beings, without a shilling, almost naked, and destitute of every necessary of life.”²²⁸ But from motives of necessity and policy the Imperial Government dealt generously with them providing them with all necessaries for the first year or so of settlement. To promote their educational interests Governor Parr was instructed to reserve, in every township occupied by the Loyalists, one thousand acres of land inalienable forever for the maintenance of a school.²²⁹ The Loyalists apparently did not avail themselves to any considerable extent of those lands which in keeping with the prevailing educational policy of the province were designed especially for the use of S. P. G. teachers. In most cases the Loyalists engaged teachers of their own choice supporting them as best they could. No doubt their attitude on the school question had considerable influence in hastening the institution of freedom in school establishment in the province.

The Loyalists eventually made their way to almost every part of Nova Scotia. Many of them settled in Cumberland County, in the vicinity of Annapolis Royal and in Digby. At the beginning of 1784, 11,000 of them founded the town of Shelburne.²³⁰ Here in the two parishes that made up the settlement the Reverend Mr. Walter and Reverend Mr. Rowland were elected rectors and application made the Governor to have them inducted in the school service and put in possession of the lands reserved for schoolmasters.²³¹ In reply

²²⁷ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, pp. 409, 412; *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 47.

²²⁸ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 409.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

²³¹ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 396; Vol. 136, pp. 327-328.

the Governor stated that such appointments were reserved for Government but expressed his willingness to confer five hundred acres on these gentlemen provided they made choice of lands other than those already reserved for school purposes. Some time after this Mr. Walter was tendered part of a missionary's allowance for the district.

It is probable that numerous private schools flourished in Shelburne in the days of its greatest prosperity. When Bishop Inglis visited the town in 1790 he found twelve schools there in active operation and 257 scholars in attendance. He computed the number of children in the town to be 770.²³² Since these schools were private enterprises supported by pupils' fees we find no mention of their teachers in the official records of the province. In a copy of the *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, printed at Shelburne in 1786, we find, however, the following advertisement:

A Schoolmaster wanted in a family, to instruct four or five children. An elderly man, with a good character, properly recommended, will meet with very good encouragement.²³³

For general educational activity Shelburne soon acquired a reputation surpassing that of the Capital. When, for instance, in 1785, Major Courtland, late of the Third Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, wished, for the sake of his children, to obtain a land grant in the province in close proximity to a school, he selected a site on the main highway in the vicinity of Shelburne.²³⁴

In the Annapolis region a Loyalist of the name of Benjamin Snow opened a very efficient school in 1781; and in Digby, the Loyalists, in 1784, engaged a scholar named Foreman to teach their children.

The Loyalists, because of their experience in colonial life, were well suited for pioneer settlement in Nova Scotia. With their steady application, progressiveness and intellectuality they were well equipped to play an important part in the public life of their new home. Their sons, especially in the

²³² *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, pp. 239-240; 1894, p. 457.

²³³ *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, Shelburne, September 7, 1786.

²³⁴ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 430.

next generation, became, in many instances, eminent public men and have ranged themselves among the real founders of the province. The elevated character of the educational spirit of the province during the first half of the nineteenth century was, in no small measure, due to Loyalist influence.

Early Education in Pictou County.—While the Loyalists were settling the western part of Nova Scotia the undeveloped sections of the east bordering on the Gulf of St. Lawrence were being peopled by a steady influx of immigrants from Scotland. The first arrivals were, denominationally, Presbyterians of the Established Church of Scotland. Later a considerable number of Scotch Catholics took up lands in the same district and vicinity.

Educationally, these people were inferior to the New England Loyalists. Of the scholastic abilities of the early Scotch settlers of Pictou, Dr. Patterson writes thus:

The most of the Highlanders were very ignorant. Very few of them could read, and books were unknown among them. The Dumfries settlers were much more intelligent in religion and everything else. They had brought with them a few religious books from Scotland, some of which were lost in Prince Edward Island, but the rest were carefully read. In the year 1779, John Patterson brought out a supply of books from Scotland . . . among which was a plentiful supply of the New England Primer, which was distributed among the young, and the contents of which was soon learned. Of teachers, I have not found the names of any after James Davidson left, about the year 1776.²⁸⁸

Of the later Scotch immigrants, Dr. McGregor writes:

It was with no little discouragement to me that I saw scarcely any books among the people. Those who spoke English had indeed a few, which they had brought with them from their former abodes; but scarcely one of them had got any addition to his stock since. Almost all of them had a Bible, and it was to be seen with some of the Highlanders who could not read. Few of them indeed could read a word. There was no school in the place. Squire Patterson had built a small house and hired a teacher for a few months now and then for his own children. In three, or perhaps four, other places three or four of the nearest neighbors had united and hired a teacher for a few months at different times, and this

²⁸⁸ Patterson, Reverend George, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

was a great exertion. What was more discouraging, I could not see a situation in Pictou where a school could be maintained for a year, so thin and scattered was the population. Besides many of the Highlanders were perfectly indifferent about education.²³⁶

Dr. McGregor arrived in Pictou in 1786, the same year that this section of the province was separated from Halifax County and erected into an independent district.²³⁷ He was a man of great intellectual power and a writer of some distinction. It is said of him that he was so concerned about the education of his fellow countrymen that when parents presented their children for baptism he was accustomed to draw from them a solemn declaration that they would make a faithful effort to see that their offspring secured an education. The earnest desire of the Highlanders for religious instruction he found to be of invaluable assistance in cultivating their interest in the education of their children; and he subsequently stated that he found them to be more easily impressed with this need than he had at first anticipated. Their children in their rude schools showed great aptitude for learning.

Before the Scotch arrived in force, a school, as Patterson observes, was established at Lyons Brook, in the Pictou district, by James Davidson, a refugee from New England, in 1776. It is noteworthy as being perhaps the first Sunday school to be opened in Nova Scotia. Another was begun by the Reverend Mr. Breynton at Halifax in 1783 in which needy children were clothed and otherwise provided for by subscriptions raised by the congregation of St. Paul's Parish.²³⁸

In 1785, when it was proposed to settle a number of ex-soldiers in the neighborhood of Pictou, a town site was laid out and a plot reserved for a school. But as the project failed to mature no school appeared. In 1793, Peter Grant, who had been educated in the Grammar School at Halifax, was licensed to keep a school in Pictou. The settlement had then been selected as the seat of government for the district. Grant was succeeded, in 1802, by S. L. Newcomb who after a short time was replaced by Glennie who had also been licensed to teach in the district.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

²³⁷ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 223, Doc. 102.

²³⁸ Akins, Thomas B., *History of Halifax*, p. 71.

A notable figure in the later educational life of Pictou County was Dr. McCulloch. While Dr. McGregor had directed his efforts mainly towards the improvement of education generally among the Scotch of Pictou, Dr. McCulloch was, in a particular way, attentive to their needs for advanced education. He came from Scotland in 1803 and almost immediately began an agitation to secure the establishment of an institution for higher learning in Pictou such as would extend to his co-religionists educational facilities comparable to that accessible to members of the Established Church in Nova Scotia. His efforts did not bear fruit until 1816 when he succeeded in securing the privilege of establishing an academy on condition that it would be entirely self-supporting. When financial difficulties threatened the continuation of the institution after a few years, legislative appropriations were made for its assistance but these were eventually discontinued. For this reason Pictou Academy failed to rise above the status of a secondary educational institution and, contrary to Dr. McCulloch's original intention, never attained the dignity of a degree-conferring institution. In the meantime the district had been enjoying the benefits of grammar schools.

Halifax Private Schools.—The school legislation of 1780 and the opening of the Grammar School did not interfere directly with the free exercise of the private schools of the Capital.

In 1805, Mr. Mezagneau gave notice through the Halifax press that he was about to open a school to teach French in the evenings.²³⁹ Next year, another school was started in Halifax by Michael Green, late assistant in the Grammar School.²⁴⁰

The Germans of Halifax had Mr. Honseal to teach the German congregation of St. George's in 1785.²⁴¹ On February 28, 1805, the following advertisement appeared in the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*:

Wanted to superintend a school in Dutch Town, a young man capable of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic.²⁴²

²³⁹ *The Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, October 10, 1805.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, November 18, 1806.

²⁴¹ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 137.

²⁴² *The Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, February 28, 1805.

Music schools began to appear in Halifax towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1801, Mr. Dorwal, from London, solicited classes in music, French and dancing; and in 1805, G. B. Fillman informed the Halifax public that he was opening a school "to teach music in all its variety."²⁴³

The following notice of a school for the education of young ladies was given in the issue of the *Nova Scotia Gazette* for April 23, 1801:

Female Education

James Bowen, Schoolmaster, at the next corner house, to the westward of Mr. Noonan's (Sign of the Bunch of Grapes) respectfully acquaints the public that he has commenced the Tuition of Young Ladies in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Accounts, from the hours of 12 'till 2 (the useful days of attendance) and having engaged a Person every way qualified to assist him in the duties of the School, flatters himself by their united exertions and assiduity of giving satisfaction to the Parents who are pleased to intrust him with the Education of their Children.

In this same year, Daniel Hammil was licensed to keep school in Halifax; and, in 1803, Joseph Hawkins was appointed S. P. G. teacher for the city. The name of Michael Forrestal also appears on the list of teachers in Halifax in 1805.²⁴⁴ His school was called an English Academy. We reproduce his notice of its opening, printed in the *Nova Scotia Gazette* on June 6, 1805:

English Academy

By permission of his Excellency, Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, & — the subscriber respectfully informs the public, he will open an English Academy, in Halifax, on Monday the 23rd, June next, for the instruction of youth in the following branches of Education viz;

Reading, Writing, English, Grammar, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geography, with the use of the Globes; Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying on a modern and highly improved plan; Navigation, Gnomonics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Elocution, Composition, &

Public Examinations will be held half-yearly.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1805; 1801.

²⁴⁴ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 172.

Mr. Bowen, in 1806, moved his school to a new situation on Hollis Street. Giving notice of his new location he says:

Conscious that no exertions of his has been wanting to facilitate the improvement of pupils committed to his care these Fourteen years he has followed that vocation, and reflects with pleasure, on the great number of young Gentlemen, he has qualified for the Compting House, and other respectable Situations, now in Halifax and elsewhere, Likewise the many adult Persons, he has also qualified to be, and are Masters, and Mates of Vessels, &. His faculties from much practice and study, are rather improved, (but by no means impaired) and therefore begs leave, with the most profound respect to solicit a continuance of the Patronage he has so liberally experienced from a very respectable number of the inhabitants of Halifax.²⁴⁵

There were in later years several schools for young women in the town. Miss Wenman kept a school for small children in Granville Street which was burned out by the fire of 1817. Mrs. Henry and Mrs. McCage were teaching young ladies in Barrington Street about the same time.²⁴⁶

General Educational Situation Throughout Nova Scotia.—As indicated by the report of the correspondence committee on King's College in 1787, the sparsely settled districts of the province were enjoying meager educational facilities at that time. A contributor to the *Nova Scotia Magazine*, in 1789, asserted that education in the province had just begun,²⁴⁷ and Bishop Inglis affirms that when he came to Nova Scotia, in 1787, there was not a good grammar school in the whole country and only one finished church—St. Paul's in Halifax.²⁴⁸ In those districts, however, where an active interest was shown in schools, teachers were located by government license from time to time.

At Cornwallis, in King's County, Cornelius Fox became schoolmaster in 1782.²⁴⁹ As S. P. G. representative he was

²⁴⁵ *The Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, October 7, 1806.

²⁴⁶ Akins, Thomas B., *History of Halifax*, pp. 183-184.

²⁴⁷ *The Nova Scotia Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1789, p. 86.

²⁴⁸ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 249.

²⁴⁹ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 136, p. 296.

Eaton's statement, that Fox was teaching at Cornwallis in 1772-1773, is evidently erroneous. See Eaton, Arthur, W. H., *The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia*, Salem, Mass., 1910, p. 335.

entitled to the use of the school lands but due to disagreement among the proprietors he was restrained from occupying them until 1789.²⁵⁰ Settlement was finally effected by Mr. Fox assuming to teach twelve children gratis and reducing the fees of others from fifty-two to forty shillings per year. Mr. Fox was the first teacher in the township and the first also in the present county of Kings.²⁵¹ He taught at Cornwallis until 1798, when he retired to Cape Breton to become teacher at Sydney. His school at Cornwallis was renewed the next year by Matthew McLaughlin and Matthew Fisher, who were joined soon afterwards by Patrick Inery.²⁵² They came probably in response to the following advertisement appearing in the *Halifax Weekly Chronicle* on several occasions from April to June, 1799:

Any person capable of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, with propriety, who can produce a good recommendation for sobriety and steadiness of conduct and to whom a residence in the country would be agreeable, will be informed of an eligible situation by applying to Messrs. Charles and Samuel Prescott in Halifax or to Joseph Prescott, Esq., or Timothy Eaton, Merchant Cornwallis.²⁵³

Application for a teacher was made by forty-four Loyalists of Clements township in 1788. A certain Mr. Casey, who conducted a private school in the settlement, seems to have been inducted into the service soon afterwards, for we find him established as teacher there in 1791.²⁵⁴

In 1790, following a visit to the western districts of the province, Bishop Inglis recommended the appointment of a teacher for the settlers at Aylesford. Early in the next year the proprietors secured the services of a Mr. Reynolds as clerk and schoolmaster.²⁵⁵ Another schoolmaster who taught in the Aylesford district before the end of the century was Mr. Tupper. He resigned his charge in 1797.²⁵⁶

The first missionary to Rawden-Douglas was Benjamin Gray. He was appointed in 1796 with an assigned salary of

²⁵⁰ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 233.

²⁵¹ Eaton, Arthur W. H., *op. cit.*, p. 335.

²⁵² *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 172.

²⁵³ Eaton, Arthur, W. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336.

²⁵⁴ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 224; 1913, p. 252.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 240; 1913, p. 252.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 240.

seventy-five pounds a year, the money to be paid "out of the provision made by Government for the support of missions in the province."²⁵⁷

At Onslow, Patrick Ryan, by license of the Governor and approval of the Bishop, was allowed to occupy the school lands in 1802. His seems to have been the first appointment to the township. In this year, too, George Dill was sent to teach the children of Truro township in the present county of Colchester. He was accorded the privilege of cultivating for his own use the five hundred acres reserved there for a schoolmaster.

As regards the earliest schools in the Loyalist colony of Yarmouth, Lawson, in *Yarmouth Past and Present*, writes: "The first school house of which any trace can be found was situated in the northeast corner of the old Episcopal churchyard on Butler's Hill, which was also used as a court house from 1790 till the year 1805 . . ."²⁵⁸

We find in the Governor's Commission Book record of six persons licensed to teach in Yarmouth in 1785. They were Samuel S. Poole, Miner Huntington, Andrew Butler, John Prout, Robert Black and Reverend Harris Harding. A considerable colony of Loyalists was at this time settled in the township.²⁵⁹

Mention has already been made of Benjamin Snow's school at Annapolis in 1781. Snow was a graduate of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. He conducted his school for two years, being succeeded in 1783 by John McNamara, also a Loyalist. McNamara had charge of the school until his death in 1798, being in receipt of the usual subsidy from the S. P. G.²⁶⁰

James Foreman (or Forman), who came to Annapolis with the refugees of 1781, soon moved to Digby where he opened the school already noticed. According to Wilson, he was preceded by a teacher named William Barbanks, who taught

²⁵⁷ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 172.

²⁵⁸ Lawson, J. Murray, *Yarmouth Past and Present*, Yarmouth, 1902, p. 545.

²⁵⁹ Brown, George S., *op. cit.*, p. 351.

²⁶⁰ Calnek, W. A., *History of the County of Annapolis*, Toronto, 1897, p. 178.

in several hamlets in the county before the close of the century.²⁶¹ Foreman began his school at Digby in 1784 with an enrollment of seventy-five pupils. It lasted but eight months, the teacher turning his attention to the institution of a Sunday school of the Church of England. This venture has won for Foreman more celebrity than did his secular school. It is regarded by some writers as the first Sunday school on the continent of America, though others give precedence to the institution started by Davidson at Lyons Brook, in Pictou County, in 1776.²⁶² Foreman's school gave impetus to the establishment of such institutions in the province, two being started in Halifax by Bishop Inglis in 1788. One of these, for boys, was directed by a Mr. Tidmarsh; the other, for girls, by Mrs. Clarke.²⁶³

With the promise of assistance from the S. P. G., Mr. Foreman renewed his secular school in a new location in Digby town in 1789.²⁶⁴ Bishop Inglis paid him a visit in 1791 and found forty scholars attending the school. Foreman eventually returned to England.

In addition to Foreman's school at Digby, others are reputed to have existed in the township before 1800. One was erected at Westport in 1789, and another was located at Sandy Cove. A new school was started at Little River, in 1805, by William Gay, an Englishman.²⁶⁵

Cumberland County, settled by New Englanders, was for a long time without either minister or schoolmaster. The first permanent clergyman in this district was a Mr. Eagleson; the first schoolmaster, John Dunn, who was engaged by the inhabitants of Amherst in 1788.²⁶⁶ Through the recommendation of Bishop Inglis, an official license was secured for him next year. Similar appointments were made about the same time for Hopewell and Parrsborough.

The Loyalists settled at Campbellton, near Sheet Harbor, asked for a teacher in 1788. The petition, signed by fifty-

²⁶¹ Wilson, Isaiah W., *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia*, Halifax, N. S., 1900, p. 92.

²⁶² Calnek, W. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298.

²⁶³ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1913, p. 233.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 233; 1913, p. 252.

²⁶⁵ Wilson, Isaiah W., *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

²⁶⁶ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 243.

three persons, stated that there were fifty-one children in the township. They got their first teacher in 1789, Mr. William Sutherland, who conducted a school of seventeen pupils throughout that year. He was replaced in 1790 by Thomas Cook.

In 1792, Patrick Patton was appointed S. P. G. teacher for Guysborough, and, in the Ship Harbor district, Charles Taylor and Michael Russell were given certificates to teach in 1804. G. F. Belvidere procured a license to teach writing and arithmetic in Lunenburg in 1796, and in the vicinity of Chester a man by the name of Hawbolt taught school about 1810.²⁶⁷

Internal Administration and Management of Schools.—In illustration of the internal management of our early schools, the character of the schoolmaster, and the matter he taught, we insert a few items taken from the records as being rather typical. The first is a letter written by Mr. Fullerton, teacher at Horton in 1790, to the trustees of the school. It shows how teachers collected their fees from pupils.

In order to accomplish in the most liberal manner the paternal designs of His Majesty in reserving the school lands and to render my settlement as acceptable as possible to the inhabitants of Horton, I am very willing to educate five Children without charge as shall be recommended to me for that purpose. This proportion is considerably greater than that fixed for the School-Master at Cornwallis. The lands in that town rent for £25 or 30, while those of Horton are leased £10 or 12. Yet to extend the benefits of tuition as much as possible I will cheerfully undertake the Superintendence of half the number assigned to that incumbent.

From the same motive, I likewise resolve to reduce the fees of tuition from £3 per annum to £2 15s whenever the inhabitants shall supply a school-room and supply it with fuel.

These conditions are the most moderate that can be offered in the present circumstance of the country. I have presumed to state them on paper that the people at large may know precisely the ground on which I stand; and that every possibility of a future misunderstanding may be precluded.

N. B. If the number of Scholars that pay exceed twenty the tuition shall be £2 10s.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 224, 233, 238, 242, 245.

²⁶⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 224, Doc. 49.

The following narrative suggests the ordinary conditions under which the pioneer schoolmaster in Nova Scotia lived.

You are aware that the teachers at the present day are more cared for than teachers formerly. I have in some sections had for food, in poor families where I boarded, nothing but Indian meal, without milk or sweetening. In other families, fish and potatoes, and mangel tops for my dinner; slept on hay and straw beds on the floor, where mice, fleas and bugs could be felt all hours of the night. I have frequently found one, two and three mice crushed to death lying under me—the straw not even put in a sack, and my covering old clothing. I suffered all this, so great was my wish to give instruction to the poor and rising generation. Yea, many families of poor children have I educated and never received one farthing.²⁶⁹

An old German resident of Lunenburg tells us how he was taught about 1800:

In those days we had German schools. It was my hurt going to them; I should have had English. The schoolmaster was one Draver, from Germany. He spoke only German. He kept school in my grandfather Conrad's house, and had about forty scholars. We went early in the morning and left at five o'clock. The master was very strict, and would not allow any noise. The Bible was read every day. I can read it in English. I learned it from my children. All the preaching used to be in German; there is very little of it now (1878). The old settlers brought their large family Bibles from Germany. My father could read well in German.²⁷⁰

A writer in the *Acadian Magazine* for July, 1826, describes "A Schoolmaster of the Old Leaven"—his character, appearance and pedagogical equipment as follows:

The good old race of flogging schoolmasters, who restrained the passions by giving vent to them, and took care to maintain a proper quality of fear and tyranny in the world, are now perhaps extinct.

I knew a master of the old school, who flourished (no man a better rod) about thirty years back. I used to wish I was a fairy that I might have the handling of his cheeks and wig.

He was a short, thick set man about sixty, with an aquiline nose, a long connex upper lip, sharp mouth, little cruel eyes, and a pair of hands enough to make your cheeks tingle to look

²⁶⁹DesBrisay, Mather B., *op. cit.*, p. 401.

²⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 363.

at them. I remember his short coat sleeves, and the way in which his hands used to hang out of his little tight waistbands, ready for execution. Hard little fists they were, yet no harder than his great cheeks. He was a clergyman, and his favorite exclamation (which did not appear profane to us but only tremendous) was "God's my life." Whenever he said this, turning upon you and opening his eyes like a fish, you expected (and with good reason) to find one of his hands taking you with a pinch of the flesh under the chin, while with the other he treated your cheek as if it had been no better than a piece of deal.

I am persuaded there was some affinity between him and the deal. He had a side pocket, in which he carried a carpenter's rule (I don't know who his father was), and he was fond of meddling with carpenters' work. The line and rule prevailed in his mode of teaching. I think I see him now seated under a deal board canopy, behind a lofty wooden desk, his wooden chair raised upon a dais of wooden steps and two large wooden shutters or slides projecting from the wall or other side to secure him from the wind. He introduced among us an acquaintance with manufactures. Having a tight little leg (for there was a horrible succinctness about him, though in the priestly part he tended to be corpulent), he was accustomed, very artfully, whenever he came to a passage in his lectures concerning pigs of iron, to cross one of his calves over his knee, and inform us that the pig was about the thickness of that leg. Upon which, like slaves as we were, all looked inquisitively at his leg; as if it had not served for the illustration a hundred times.

Though serious in ordinary and given to wrath, he was "cruel fond" of a joke. I remember particularly his delighting to shew us how funny Terence was (which is what we should never have found out); and how he used to tickle our eyes with the words, "Chremis' Daater."

He had no more relish of the joke or the poetry than we had; but Terence was a school book and was ranked among the comic writers; and it was his business to carry on established opinions and an authorized facetiousness.

When he flogged, he used to pause and lecture between the blows, that the instruction might sink in. We became so critical and sensitive about everything that concerned him, watching his very dress like the aspects of the stars, that we used to identify particular moods of his mind with particular wigs.²⁷¹

This description evidently written in a humorous spirit, is

²⁷¹The *Acadian Magazine*, Halifax, N. S., July 1826, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 168.

nevertheless suggestive of the manner in which our early schools were managed and the kind of teaching that prevailed about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless those quaint teachers graduated from their schools spirits of force and determination whom we admire today as the founders of our country and its institutions.

Catholic Education.—On account of the proscriptive character of the school law of 1766, Catholics in Nova Scotia were for many years deprived of the benefits of education. Among the French people still in the country its effects were particularly disastrous. Their priests, who might at least teach them the catechism of their church and at the same time acquaint them with a few items of secular knowledge, were allowed to visit them only under the most particular supervision.²⁷² In the peninsula alone the French numbered approximately 2,600 in 1764.²⁷³ In rare cases, as, for instance, at Lunenburg where they mingled to some extent with the Calvinists, they acceded to the promptings of Government and sent their children to the English schools. As a rule, however, they were sceptical of the English schools and looked upon them more or less as a menace to their faith.

The disabilities imposed on Catholics by various regulations were considerably ameliorated in the years following 1780. A measure passed by the Local Legislature in 1786 repealed the sections of the school law of 1766 exposing Catholics to liability of fine and imprisonment for venturing to set up a school. In substitution for the revoked clauses, the injunction was attached that nothing in the current act was to be construed "to extend to the permitting any popish person, priest or schoolmaster taking upon themselves the education or government or boarding youth, within this Province, to admit into their schools any youth under age of fourteen years, who shall have been brought up and educated in the Protestant religion."²⁷⁴ The measure afforded great relief, instituting, in fact, Catholic educational emancipation in the province.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the French

²⁷²*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 222, Doc. 91.

²⁷³Halliburton, Thomas C., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 275.

²⁷⁴*Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1786, Sec. 3.

inhabitants of the district of Clare, in the western part of Nova Scotia, had some educational advantages placed within their reach, through the efforts of their pastor, Father Sigogne. He came to them from France as successor to Father Bourg in 1799.

From the moment of his arrival, Father Sigogne worked strenuously to procure a systematic education for the French children of his parishes. To give practical encouragement to parents he appointed persons to act as catechists and to teach reading and writing under his supervision. When he could get no teachers he enlisted the assistance of mothers of families as school mistresses. In the presbytery of his church he opened a sort of monastic school, where he received boys and girls as resident pupils.

To provide instruction for the older people, whose ignorance he deplored, Father Sigogne later opened a Sunday school in the church. Arrangements were made with the schoolmaster and three hours' instruction in the catechism and method of reading and writing were given every Sunday.²⁷⁵

In the parish of St. Peter's, Halifax, the English speaking Catholics, unable to educate their children because of the impoverished condition of the parishoners, took advantage of the concessions of 1786 to request the legislature to grant them permission to open a school under the supervision of their clergy wherein their children would be taught gratis. Their prayer was complied with and the school established.²⁷⁶

In March, 1802, the Reverend Edmund Burke, Vicar-General for the diocese, petitioned the Assembly praying the incorporation, for educational purposes, of the Bishop of Quebec, his Coadjutor, Vicar-General at Halifax and the superior of the seminary of Ste. Sulpice at Montreal and their successors to enable them to receive donations for the purpose of erecting a Catholic seminary at Halifax. Father Burke subsequently modified his plan to meet the more pressing need of an institution for the charitable education of Catholic youth

²⁷⁵Dagnaud, Père P. M., *Les Français du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle Écosse*, Valence, 1905, p. 165; Pringle, A. L., *The Home of Evangeline*, London, p. 232.

²⁷⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 301, Doc. 83.

of the Capital. His action was sternly opposed by Governor Wentworth, who wrote the Lords of Trade that the Catholics of the province were numerous "and increasing both in numbers and zealous activity."²⁷⁷ He also notified Father Burke "that no School or Seminary of Education could be exercised in this Province, but such as were conformable to the laws of England, and of this Province confirmed by His Majesty."²⁷⁸ Father Burke, nevertheless, persevered in his work establishing the first institution for the education of Catholic youth in Halifax.

Indian Education.—During the period of French ownership of Nova Scotia, the Indians of the maritime regions of Canada were brought within the fold of the Catholic church by the mission work of French priests. They entertained, thereafter, a most remarkable attachment for these early missionaries and when, after the conquest, these were replaced by ministers of the Church of England, the Indians were found to be altogether insusceptible to the teachings of a new creed. This was so much the case that the government found it expedient to invite French priests from Quebec to continue their work among the tribes of the maritime provinces. For this purpose, Father Maillard was allowed a yearly gratuity of one hundred pounds and his successor half that amount.²⁷⁹ Father Maillard was very energetic in his efforts to improve the education of the Indian, translating and writing, as we have observed, a catechism in the Indian dialect and an Indian grammar and dictionary. The Anglican clergyman, Mr. Wood, did work of a similar kind during his residence in the western districts of the province. It is recorded that, in 1769, at a service in St. Paul's Church, a large assemblage of Indians sang an anthem before and after service.²⁸⁰

Later, towards the close of the century, an effort was made to teach the Indian men husbandry and the women the arts of domestic life. In 1792, a bounty of ten pounds sterling and twenty acres of land free of quit rent for twenty years was offered any British subject intermarrying with the Indians; and, in 1801, the provincial government began to consider the

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. 53, Doc. 105.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*

²⁷⁹*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 320.

²⁸⁰Akins, Thomas B., *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress*, etc., pp. 21, 22.

feasibility of offering small premiums to land proprietors as an inducement to take Indian children into their families for the purpose of giving them a vocational training.²⁸¹ About this time also a British society offered a compensation to any person who should assume the guardianship of a child of Indian parentage and provide for his education and his induction into the habits of domestic life.²⁸² It was not, however, until near the middle of the last century that statutory provisions began to be made for the formal education of Indian children.

Negro Education.—The negro population of Nova Scotia are, for the most part, descended from slaves escaped from the colonies and from negro servants who followed the Loyalists into the province. At an early date they established themselves in settlements in various parts of the country. There were in the peninsula, in 1784, approximately 1,232 negro servants and, in 1791, 422 were living in the Capital.²⁸³ We find the following entry in the Governor's Commission Book for May 1, 1788:

License of the Usual Tenor Signed by His Excellency the Lieut. Governor, authorizing Limerick Isaac to Keep a School at Halifax for teaching Reading and Writing of English to the Black people also to Read the Prayers to them he appearing qualified. This license to continue during good behavior.²⁸⁴

The negroes at Tracadie, numbering about seventy-five families, were particularly distinguished for their industry. Early in their settlement, they engaged one of their number, Demsy Jordan, to act as catechist and reader. Jordan's appointment secured the approval of Bishop Inglis who, along with other encouragement, conferred on him a tract of land. He resigned, however, at the end of a year and was succeeded by Thomas Brownspriggs. When Brownspriggs abandoned the station, in 1792, he had a school of twenty-three negro children.²⁸⁵

Another considerable settlement of negroes at Birchdale near Shelburne had a school established in 1790 in which Col-

²⁸¹*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 348, Doc. 3; Vol. 430, Doc. 48½.

²⁸²Moorson, Captain W., *Letters from Nova Scotia Comprising Sketches of a Young Country*, London, 1830, p. 116.

²⁸³*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 412.

²⁸⁴*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 170.

²⁸⁵*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 245.

onel Bluck taught. It had an attendance of forty-four black children.²⁸⁶ In the same neighborhood, James Leonard was teacher to the blacks the following year. The negroes of that place were very poor, and therefore their schools did not thrive.

Toward the end of the century the black population of the province was considerably increased by the arrival of the Maroons from Jamaica. A large body of them settled near Preston. They were apparently a good body of men, representing to Governor Wentworth their desire of being instructed in the Christian religion and of having their children taught reading and writing. The Governor, therefore, in 1796, appointed the Reverend Benjamin Green their missionary and enlisted the services of Mr. Chamberlain as teacher. Mr. Chamberlain, originally a New Englander, had formerly been a teacher to the Indians and seemed otherwise to possess suitable qualifications for the work.²⁸⁷

The Maroons showed a marked interest in learning, the Governor reporting in 1797 that the Maroon children were "constantly at School learning to read and write with decency and diligence."²⁸⁸ He expressed the hope that the S. P. G. would extend some assistance to the missionary and teacher. Writing to the Society soon afterwards, he stated that nineteen of the Maroon boys attending school at Boydville were examined publicly in the church on Easter Sunday and "repeated the Catechism, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments with admirable precision, and read all the lessons and Responses during the service very correctly."²⁸⁹ In time, however, the Maroons lost the spirit of industry and became a burden on the public. The climate seems to have been too rigorous for them to withstand. Accordingly, following the decision of the government, they were deported from the province as undesirable colonists.

The disposal of those people is indicative of changes in the direction of a definite administrative policy for Nova Scotia developed in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Educationally, the most important achievement of this period was

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 239.

²⁸⁷*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 51.

²⁸⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. 52.

²⁸⁹Pascoe, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 117.

the establishment of the Grammar School at Halifax and King's College at Windsor. The founding of these institutions proclaimed the dawn of higher education for Nova Scotia. Apart from the educational advantages they afforded the privileged few who were in a position to frequent their classrooms, they served to stimulate educational thought all over the province leading to the enactment of the school law of 1811, providing for the establishment of several institutions similar to the Halifax school and ultimately to the founding of Pictou Academy and Dalhousie University.

For this revitalizing of the educational life of the province the Loyalists deserve no small share of credit. In different parts of the province refugees of scholarly tastes were agitating for public schools; and in the Pictou district Dr. McGregor was sowing the seed of an interest and taste for learning. All this had the effect of creating a broader and more lively interest in school establishment which served to extend the circle of educational outlook beyond the Capital.

The possibility of forming a general system of education for Nova Scotia was claiming serious attention as early as 1788. Bishop Inglis discusses the topic in correspondence of that date, his views bearing the support of Governor Dorchester.²⁹⁰ The Bishop saw the need of a uniform system of schools for, writing in 1800, he laments the unsupervised nature of school-teaching in the province where, he avers, "swarms of teachers who are ignorant and fanatical . . . infest every district."²⁹¹

By this time, a gradual amelioration of the penal laws had relieved Catholics considerably from the severity of those measures which militated so iniquitously against the foundation of Catholic schools. Throughout the province generally there was manifest a more tolerant attitude towards education for all denominations that prophesied well for future school development. Female school-teachers also began to be considered before the end of the century. The first record we have of such an appointment being made is dated 1803 when a Miss Bailey was recommended for the position of school-mistress at Annapolis.²⁹²

²⁹⁰*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1912, p. 222.

²⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 284.

²⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 260, 264.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION IN CAPE BRETON

The educational history of Cape Breton is closely associated with that of the mainland of Nova Scotia. On acquisition of the island colony by Great Britain in 1763, it became established as a political appendage to the peninsula and so remained until 1784, when it was erected into a separate province and a council, under the supervision of the Governor of Nova Scotia, appointed to administer its affairs. With the abolishment of this relationship for a union of the two governments, in 1820, the school activities of both divisions were combined to form one integral educational system. Before this event little of outstanding importance had been done to advance learning in the island.

As it was the policy of the Board of Trade to reserve the whole of Cape Breton as a supply station for H. M. Navy and for kindred purposes, no freehold titles to land were granted in the island before 1784. Consequently, during those years its population remained stationary. In 1766, the inhabitants numbered about one thousand, five hundred of whom were at Louisbourg and the remainder, chiefly French, squatters in diverse parts of the colony.²⁹³ Writing in 1774, Governor Legge stated that he could not find any new improvements in Cape Breton above what had been done by the French at an earlier date.²⁹⁴

At Louisbourg, the Reverend Mr. Kneeland, chaplain to the 59th Regiment, reported to the S. P. G. in 1766, there were one hundred and twenty children under fourteen years of age. He earnestly enjoined the Society that it make an effort to provide the settlement with a suitable teacher.²⁹⁵

The commander of the garrison stated later that had it not been for the charity this gentleman exhibited "in sharing his small salary with the many indigent people of the town in the winter season together with maintaining their children

²⁹³*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 269.

²⁹⁴*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 44, Doc. 57.

²⁹⁵*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 269.

at school" they would have been destitute of all civil and spiritual assistance. This Mr. Kneeland did without any fee or reward from the inhabitants.²⁹⁶ Franklin advised in 1768 that land for the maintenance of a school be reserved near the settlement.²⁹⁷ Acting partly on this suggestion, the commander, in 1774, laid out 2,500 acres for garrison lots in the neighborhood of the town, having in view the possibility that when the country was better settled this considerable area might be acquired for the support of an academy or public school.²⁹⁸

In consequence of the political changes of 1784 the policy of withholding free land titles from tenants in Cape Breton was considerably modified. Governor Desbarres, first Governor of Cape Breton, was authorized to extend to the incoming Loyalists land concessions similar to those enjoyed by their compatriots in the peninsula.²⁹⁹ Sydney having been selected as the seat of government, the importance of Louisbourg thenceforth declined.

On account of lack of harmony between the administrators of government and the people and internal disagreement between the officials themselves, the establishment for a decade or more maintained but a precarious existence. The surveyor-general stated, in 1787, that "the settlement at Sydney is so little advanced that both civil and militia are living in the woods."³⁰⁰

Notwithstanding those adverse conditions, already in the previous summer Sydney's first schoolmaster, Mr. Edward Pate, was conducting a private school in the village for the benefit of children generally. For this information the writer is indebted to Mr. J. G. MacKinnon's volume, "Old Sydney."³⁰¹ Mr. Pate's school being private, no mention of it is made in the state documents. We do not know what success he had or how long he continued to give this service. But in the state papers of Cape Breton for 1790, mention is made of a

²⁹⁶*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 222, Doc. 47.

²⁹⁷*Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1894, p. 269.

²⁹⁸*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 222, Doc. 47.

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. 315, Doc. 4.

³⁰⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 332, Doc. 7.

³⁰¹MacKinnon, J. G., *Old Sydney*, Sydney, Nova Scotia, 1918, p. 77.

certain Hiram Payne being "still teaching" in Sydney, recommendation being made for his induction as an S. P. G. teacher with the usual compensation of such an appointee.³⁰² With an increasing population the services of such an official seem to have been very necessary at this time. According to a census taken there were in that year in the town and county of Sydney, 242 men, 119 women; 106 male children under fourteen years of age and 32 over that age; 94 female children under ten years old and 31 above that age.³⁰³ No appointment, however, was made by the Society, for in a despatch by the government of Cape Breton to the Board of Trade in 1794 we are informed that "the want of the teaching of religion of any kind and of schools hinders the growth of the island, nor is there," it states, "any medical or surgical attendance."³⁰⁴

The unsatisfactory condition of education in Cape Breton about this time is fully set forth in a memorandum prepared and laid before the Council meeting on June 15, 1795, by the secretary, the Honorable William McKinnon. In registering the names of those who expected to leave the colony "it had fallen within his observation," he says, "that the want of a School has evidently interrupted the industry and retarded the prosperity of the Infant Settlement, as he can quote a number of valuable Settlers who have sacrificed considerable improvements and quit the Government for the express purpose of procuring education for their offspring, and others who from the same motives recently advertised and are now on the Eve of Embarkation, he is aware that unless effectual steps are early taken to procure a creditable and respectable person of Abilities to instruct the promising youths that are still left on the Island very serious loss will derive to the settlement by the departure of men and boys in the course of another year. He had examined the records and found no trace of an application or representation having been made to Government or the Lord Bishop of London on this interesting subject. He had lately been given to understand by the Reverend Ranna Cossitt, Parochial Minister of this Island,

³⁰²*State Papers on Cape Breton, Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1895, p. 31.*

³⁰³*Ibid.*

³⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 54.

that the Society for the Propagating the Gospel had never exceeded Twenty pounds per Annum as an allowance for a schoolmaster."³⁰⁵ The Council having approved of the report, the President was asked "to represent the lamentable situation of the Island in this respect to his Majesty's Ministers in hopes that an effectual remedy will be applied."³⁰⁶

On receipt of this appeal the Society expressed its intention to extend to the establishment in Cape Breton educational advantages similar to those it provided for other colonial settlements. It was prepared to grant immediately from ten to fifteen pounds for the support of a schoolmaster as soon as a suitable one could be procured. Secretary Portland, who transmitted this decision to the administrators in Cape Breton, further stated that he would make representations to the Board of Trade that an allowance of forty pounds per year be henceforth included in the estimates for Cape Breton to go towards paying the salary of a schoolmaster.

As the Council was not aware of the presence in the island of a person qualified and willing to accept the post of teacher, it was proposed to make application to some of the neighboring governments for one. At the next meeting of the Council, in March, a proposal was made by the Reverend Ranna Cossit that his relative, Mr. Brenton, barrack master, be given the appointment. Mr. Brenton's nomination, however, was not acceded to by the Board. The following June choice was made of Mr. Fox, then teaching in Cornwallis, Kings County. This gentleman being unexpectedly detained, Timothy Hogan, late of Newfoundland, was put in charge of the school. In September, word was received by the Council that the forty pounds annual grant had been made and that Mr. Hogan would be paid from the time of his inception.³⁰⁷

Mr. Hogan seems to have been retained as official schoolmaster for a considerable period. Fox came to Sydney and taught for a short time in 1798 but voluntarily relinquished the school and left the island permanently in 1799.³⁰⁸ At this juncture Ranna Cossit, junior, applied for the position, but

³⁰⁵*Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 320.

³⁰⁶*Ibid.*

³⁰⁷*Ibid.*, Vols. 315, 320.

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. 321.

though the Council unanimously recommended him "as a fit and proper person," it would appear from a communication addressed by Mr. Hogan to that body in 1805 that the latter was permitted to enjoy uninterrupted control of the school from the time of his induction in the service. The teacher took occasion at this time to protest the action of the Society in withholding his grant for two previous years when it was found he was a Roman Catholic. Considering the fact that he had been public schoolmaster for several years, during which period he had taught many poor children free and had taken the oath of allegiance, the Council decided to pay him all arrears in salary.³⁰⁹

The number of children of school age in Sydney was greatly augmented in 1802 by the arrival of a numerous band of Scotch immigrants. It was stated in the Council meeting in that year that there were, among the new arrivals, 95 children above twelve years of age and 100 under that age. To secure accommodation for those it was necessary, in 1804, to erect an addition to the school-building and to provide it with a chimney. Thereafter, the Sydney school continued its sessions uninterruptedly, being in receipt each year of forty pounds from the Board of Trade.³¹⁰

Reverend Mr. Twining, who had in the meantime been appointed S. P. G. missionary in succession to Mr. Cossit, was made superintendent of the school in 1806, receiving a salary of about sixty pounds a year for performing this service. The schoolmaster then was a Mr. Storey. In 1809, the location of the school was changed and Mr. Hill became its master.³¹¹ Two years later, in 1811, an agitation to establish a public school in the town originated with the Commissioners of Provincial Revenue. Governor Nepean was asked to make an appropriation of four hundred pounds to provide for its erection. The matter was deliberated but no action was taken for several years.³¹²

In other parts of Cape Breton nothing of significant character in the way of school establishment was done before 1811.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 321, p. 182; Vol. 326, Doc. 190.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 327, Doc. 67.

In 1786, the inhabitants of the considerable French settlement at Arichat were granted liberty by Governor Desbarres to erect a schoolhouse for the instruction of their children;⁸¹³ and about 1808, a tract of land for school purposes was reserved by the surveyor-general near Port Hood.⁸¹⁴

For many years after annexation to Nova Scotia educational facilities in Cape Breton continued to be scanty. Thomas Haliburton, writing in 1829, said there were no schools in the island worthy of the name; and Bourinot, in his history of Cape Breton, states that little improvement in the educational situation of the island was achieved before the enactment of the school law of 1865.⁸¹⁵

CONCLUSION

As was stated in the introduction, the purpose of this volume is to trace educational progress in Nova Scotia from its earliest history to 1811. So much of interest, however, is attached to the history of school development in the province since that time that it seems desirable, in conclusion, to make a few observations on the more striking features developed in our educational program since that date. This part of the work being but summary, attention will be confined here to legislative enactments that had to do with the management and direction of our schools.

Two measures passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature in the year 1811 ushered in an era of educational outlook and purpose essentially different from that which preceded it. The first of these enactments, relating to general education, provided means for the institution of free public schools and introduced, for the first time, the principle of common school support by the method of equitable district assessment. Freeholders and persons enjoying an income of forty shillings or more per year in settlements and townships of thirty or more families were thereby empowered to raise, by subscription or assessment, not more than two hundred pounds for the estab-

⁸¹³ *Reports on the Canadian Archives*, 1905, Vol. 2, p. 246.

⁸¹⁴ *Public Records of Nova Scotia*, Vol. 321.

⁸¹⁵ Haliburton, Thomas C., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 249; Bourinot, J. G., *Historical and Descriptive Account of Cape Breton*, Montreal, 1892, p. 87.

lishment and support of a school. To administer the affairs of the institution, the inhabitants were further authorized to nominate six trustees, three of whom to be subsequently chosen for office by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the county. The trustees engaged the teachers and arranged for their salary. Every school established under the authority of the act was voted an annual subsidy of twenty-five pounds from the Provincial Treasury. If organization were secured by voluntary agreement, instruction in the school was confined to the children of those contributing to its support; if by assessment, its classes were open to all children free of tuitional charge.⁸¹⁶

By the Grammar School Act of the same year, which had reference to secondary education, every county in the province was made a grant of one hundred and fifty pounds to help procure and support a grammar school, the required balance to be raised among the inhabitants as was the fund for the common school. Tuition fees were to be charged, but provision was made for the free attendance of poor boys of the district to the number of eight. By incorporating in the act more detailed clauses, these grammar schools, the prototype of our present day academies, were brought more immediately under government supervision than the elementary institutions.⁸¹⁷

Another forward step in school legislation, marking a distinct advance on the provisions laid down in the law of 1811, was taken in 1826. Whereas the law of 1811 had extended certain privileges and offered encouragements to school establishments, the act of 1826 rendered compulsory the organization of schools in all districts of thirty families or more. A new official, the school commissioner, now appeared, whose principal duties were to delimit school districts and examine and license teachers. As the regulations of 1811 had failed to make provision for meeting the educational requirements of districts containing less than thirty families, an attempt was now made to correct this oversight by the insertion of a clause providing for the incorporation of such areas into the

⁸¹⁶ *Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1811, c. 8.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1811, c. 9.

nearest district having regular school, school in such cases to be kept alternately in each district. The government grant for distribution among the several districts and counties of the province was also increased to two thousand five hundred pounds, each division being awarded a fixed amount. A notable feature of this law was the establishment of a minimum salary for teachers of fifty pounds per year.³¹⁸

The first move towards centralization came six years later with the Act for the Encouragement of Schools, passed in 1832. School commissioners were then required to report to the Secretary of the province. This feature of the Secretary's duty later developed into the Council of Public Instruction. By removing some of the benefits secured by observance of the assessment method of support, the law showed a recessive tendency in favor of schools organized on the voluntary basis. The Treasury grant, however, was raised to four thousand pounds and extra financial assistance provided for poor sections. In districts where grammar schools did not exist opportunity and encouragement were given common schools to expand their functions by incorporating into their course of study subjects appertaining to the curriculum of fully established grammar schools.³¹⁹

The awakening of a renewed interest in the conduct of schools on the assessment plan was indicated by Governor Falkland's address at the opening of parliament in 1841 in which he advocated the foundation of a school system for the province based on the principle of general assessment.³²⁰ The Assembly, though it did not adopt the suggestion, made several amendments to the existing law and introduced some innovations. It added two thousand pounds to the grant of 1832; placed restrictions on the number of school-teachers in each district; encouraged assessment and, to render the school law more effective and uniform, created the office of General Board of Education. An important amendment stipulated that any school wherein the ordinary instruction were given

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1826, c. 5.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1832, c. 2.

³²⁰ Campbell, Duncan, *Nova Scotia in Its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations*, Montreal, 1873, p. 348.

in French, in Gaelic or in German would be eligible for due participation in the public money.³²¹

As to the condition of the schools of Nova Scotia during those years, a census revealed that in 1835 there were 530 schools in the province with an enrollment of 15,000 pupils towards the support of which the people contributed twelve thousand four hundred pounds.³²² In 1847, the number of scholars had increased to thirty-four thousand seven hundred and forty-six, and the people were raising in school funds nearly twenty-three thousand pounds.³²³

With the appointment of a superintendent of education in 1850, professional vision was brought to bear on the educational activities of the province. Under his expert direction, the school system of Nova Scotia soon began to show many of the characteristics common to it today. With the creation of the superintendent's office, money was for the first time voted for school libraries and six hundred pounds authorized to be spent each year for books and maps for poor sections. The ratepayers were also permitted henceforth to elect their own trustees.³²⁴ Four years later, in 1854, a normal school for the training of teachers came into existence.³²⁵ The establishment of this institution was a significant event in the educational history of the province. Teaching was now organized as a professional calling, uniformity of qualification and improved methods of instruction promoted, and the general standard of education throughout the province elevated.

The most important piece of school legislation the province has known had still, however, to be enacted. Despite the many changes effected, the educational situation of the province in 1861 was very unsatisfactory. The census for that year showed that, out of a total population for Nova Scotia of three hundred thousand over five years of age, eighty-one thousand could not read. "Of the eighty-three thousand children between the ages of five and fifteen there were thirty-six thousand who could not read. The number of children attending school in 1863 was only thirty-one thou-

³²¹ *Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1841, c. 43.

³²² Campell, Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³²⁴ *Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1850, c. 39.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1854, c. 5.

sand, so that there was in the Province in that year *fifty-two thousand* children growing up without any educational training whatever."³²⁶ As a remedy for the situation some suggested the adoption of a policy of district taxation and the entire abolishment of voluntarism; others were opposed to it. The question was vigorously debated and became a party issue. Taking a middle course, the party in power in the House in 1864 passed legislation declaring the common schools of the province free to all children residing in the section and emphasizing the idea of general assessment. Provision was also made for the appointment of a Council of Public Instruction.³²⁷

These measures were but preliminary to the final step in the process, which was taken the following year. Amidst a great deal of popular excitement and powerful opposition in the House the proponents of the assessment principle, in 1865, secured the successful passage of a measure making compulsory the support of schools by the method of general assessment. Secondary education was also assumed completely as a function of government; the office of inspectorship was created and an extensive code of regulations for the administration of schools adopted.³²⁸

The history of education in Nova Scotia since 1865 shows a steady advance in efficiency of our institutions of learning. With a system of free schools organized on the safe principle of support by universal assessment, it still remained necessary to provide such legislative machinery as would insure attendance at those institutions. This was secured by legislation passed in the year 1888 which was modified and perfected by amendments made in 1895 and 1915.³²⁹ Other legislation passed since 1865 has been more after the nature of developments of ideas embodied in existing school law than out and out innovations.

In the realm of higher education, though Nova Scotia boasts no provincial university as such, a number of denominational colleges provide an efficient training for its youth of

³²⁶ Campbell, Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

³²⁷ *Laws and Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1864, May 10.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1865, c. 29.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1888, 1895, 1915, caps. 46, 1 and 48, 4, respectively.

varying religious persuasion. In addition to King's, Pictou and Dalhousie, Acadia College, Baptist, was erected in 1838; St. Mary's, Catholic, in 1841; Gorham, Congregational, now defunct, in 1848; St. Francis Xavier's, Catholic, in 1853; and Ste. Anne's, Catholic, in 1890. In 1876 a state university was incorporated under the name "University of Halifax," but it was discontinued within a few years. However, Dalhousie University in the non-denominational character of its courses and administration may be justly regarded as a state institution. Its classes are open to all students irrespective of religious creed. The same thing, indeed, may now be affirmed of all the other educational institutions of the province.

On the whole the quality of education provided by the educational institutions of Nova Scotia compares favorably with that obtainable in any of the provinces of the Dominion. Considering the nature of the difficulties that hindered educational progress in early days and the comparatively youthful age of our organized school system as compared with those of most countries of the world, the present status of our schools reflects credit upon those who directed the course of our educational activities to their present satisfactory condition. While in Nova Scotia, as in all modern states, certain aspects of school life suggest room for the introduction of new methods and experiments in keeping with ever growing demands made on schools incidental to kaleidoscopic social and industrial evolutions, these are being introduced as occasion demands. The system while wisely conservative possesses elasticity sufficient to permit the free expression of individuality and the introduction of new ideas and processes as the need for their application becomes apparent.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰For a more complete account of school development in Nova Scotia from 1811 to the present day, see the volume, "Public Education in Nova Scotia," by James Bingay, M. A., Supervisor of Schools, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, published by the Jackson Press, Kingston, 1919.

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